Daily Report

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Premier Voices Support for 'Coalition Government'

AU2403141091 Paris AFP in English 1247 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Madrid, March 24 (AFP) — Albanian Prime Minister Fatos Nano expressed support for a coalition government in his country, in an interview published on Sunday [24 March] in the daily EL MUNDO.

He said that "a coalition government would be important" for Albania, adding that in such an administration, "political solutions would respect the values" of Albanian society. Mr. Nano said that the draft of Albania's new constitution "respects human rights, the Helsinki Act and the Paris charter," and indicated that his government "sees the future with optimism."

He said that the reform process in Albania would involve "transformation of the property system, a redefinition of the salary and pricing system, and the restructuring of the monetary, banking and finance system." "The reforms will be carried out above all by relying on the resources and characteristics of the country ... but also investments by foreign governments, banks and international organizations," he said.

Mr. Nano estimated Albania's foreign debt at 350 million dollars. He said that "foreign partners will be present in the Albanian economy" after the passage of a law on foreign investment and joint ventures. "Property and private initiative will benefit from legally guaranteed freedoms, on an equal footing with the public sector," said Mr. Nano.

"At the start, we will privatize the service sector: hotels, craftsmen, stores, the food industry, small and medium-sized businesses in the food sector, sporting, cultural and artistic activities, and health sectors," he said.

He warned that privatization would not be extended to "land, forests, water or oil, which are strategic sectors." In the future, Mr. Nano said, "this process will affect the large businesses, which will have to decentralize." He indicated that economic reforms would take into account the experiences of other countries in passing over to a market economy.

Alia Expresses Thanks for Electoral Nominations

AU2303190491 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 16 Mar 91 p 1

[Letter from Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, issued in Tirana on 15 March: "Thanks"]

[Text] Since the start of the electoral campaign, I have received various letters and official requests asking me to agree to stand as a candidate for People's Assembly deputy in constituencies in various districts such as Librazhd, Elbasan, Pogradec, Skrapar, Diber, etc.

I appreciate this desire as an expression of the people's trust in the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] and me personally; therefore, I feel it necessary to express my gratitude and most sincere thanks to all.

I would like to say on this occasion that, in accepting the request of the PPSh and the Albanian Union of Working Youth to become a candidate in Constituency No. 218 of the city of Tirana, which includes the neighborhood where our party was founded, I bore in mind my long-standing ties with the constituency's residents; I know many of them personally, and they know me. I spent my childhood and the difficult days of the War and the post-liberation period in this district. I also represented this district in the most recent legislature of the People's Assembly. The renewed trust of its electors therefore imposes a special obligation on me.

Thank you to everybody.
[Signed] Ramiz Alia
[Dated] Tirana, 15 March 1991.

Carcani Speaks to Activists in Gjirokaster

AU2203214591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, recently held a meeting with members and activists of this organization in Gjirokaster.

Taking the floor, he said, among other things, that the elections for deputies will this time take place under new historical conditions, in which the country's political, economic, and social life has embarked on a qualitatively new phase of democratic development. The initiator and director of this development is the dear leader of our people, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally. This process is inexorable and irreversible.

Speaking about the care being devoted to the further refinement of the political system, the increased role of bodies elected by the people, and the creation of a legal system, he said that these will secure human rights and obligations according to up-to-date standards, preserving our spiritual, national, and popular values.

Another important task will also be strengthening the rule of law, with a commitment to separating state and party activities. We have drawn lessons from our experience, Comrade Adil Carcani said. We have always had the courage and will, for the sake of the future and for the good of the people, to correct every obsolete practice and every mistake or error that may have been committed. The Democratic Front will fight resolutely against signs of bureaucracy and conservative, liberal, and sectarian phenomena.

Because it was created during the war on the initiative of the Communist Party [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Adil Carcani then said, the Front has had the main aim of uniting the people

regardless of religion, region, or conviction. It holds fast to this principle today. It is open to all people and to parties, organizations, and associations whose programs aim to defend the lofty interests of the homeland and to further democratize the country's life. The PPSh and the Democratic Front have always considered the cause of the people's unity as their highest aim and ideal.

Our people and all honest patriots, Comrade Adil Carcani continued later, will never reconcile themselves to excesses and provocations to bloodshed and fratricide, which only interest the internal and external enemies of our country. They will never reconcile themselves to the vandalism organized by dark and destructive forces. In particular, our people denounce with intense indignation and justifiable disgust the ugly and vandal act of the overturning of Comrade Enver Hoxha's monuments in Tirana, Korce, and Fier. By bringing down Enver Hoxha's monuments, they seek to demolish almost 50 years of the achievements of the Albanian people, accumulated loyally and with total conviction both during the struggle for the homeland's liberation and throughout all periods of the country's revival and radical transformation during the years of the people's power. Albania, a small and very backward country, embarked on the road of industrialization, collectivization, and mass education in a very short time, and on the road of economic and social progress and development.

After talking about some of the distinguished achievements during these years of the people's power, both in Gjirokaster district and throughout the country, Comrade Adil Carcani then focused on some of the priorities of the Democratic Front's electoral program. These first of all concern the country's economic and social stabilization through employing people, especially in agriculture, the normal fulfillment of plans, the attraction of short-term credits to obtain consumer goods and raw materials, increased exports, and significant reductions in nonproductive budget expenditure.

In overcoming the current economic situation, the speaker then said, the transition from a centralized economy to a market economy will be an important factor. It is important to carry out this transition toward the liberalization of the economy with as little pain as possible and without affecting the people's level of prosperity. In agriculture, cooperativism will be supported, with varied forms of organization, high intensive production, and substantial personal plots.

Private property also will develop in both individual forms and in partnerships, companies, etc. in production, especially in services, handicrafts, trade, etc. Privatization will be given priority in the service, handicraft, and communal sectors, and in the retail sector for staple consumer goods, food, and industrial products.

As for the countryside, we support the idea of not buying and selling land and maintaining and enriching the cooperativist system, but giving priority to private initiative in both production and trade. Another important aspect of the program, he said, is a reallocation of economic priorities, giving priority to the development of agriculture, the food and light industries, tourism, and services. Meanwhile, through cooperation abroad and the creation of joint enterprises, work will be done to identify and effectively exploit our underground resources such as chrome, copper, oil, gas, etc. We will strive for full employment through state investments, the introduction of foreign capital, private initiative, joint enterprises, and state-controlled emigration. Social assistance will be provided for all those temporarily out of work, and measures will be taken to protect people's health.

Our country, Comrade Adil Carcani said, has been and remains for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the world. It has, therefore, joined all those process that are taking place in Europe and the world today, and will strive for the democratization of international relations, so not only the voices of large countries but those of small countries as well will be heard and taken into consideration, and so the solution of today's international problems will be the fruit of the opinions and experience of all the peoples.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani called for moderation, wisdom, farsightedness, and the use of all democratic forms of dialogue and discussion, so that this highly delicate period until the 31 March elections may pass as calmly as possible, and that our people will go to the polls without pressure and anxiety, but in the full conviction that they will elect their finest sons and daughters, who are capable of taking the destiny of Albania and the nation in their hands, to the highest organizations of the power of the people.

Opposition Party Leader Predicts Election Victory

LD2303055291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Athens, March 22 (TANJUG)—The opposition will convincingly win the upcoming parliamentary elections in Albania, leader of Albania's strongest opposition Democratic Party Gramoz Pashko told a news conference here today.

Pashko, on a two-day visit to Greece, said the opposition would win at least 60 per cent of votes, perhaps even 90 per cent at the first multi-party elections in Albania after 40 years of communist rule, provided the elections were fair.

The elections are set for March 31.

Pashko added that the opposition had demanded that foreign observers monitor the elections.

The regime in Tirana is trying in every way possible to intimidate voters. The Albanian Party of Labour has founded an organization called "Enver's Volunteers",

who have sent word that they would not surrender power without blood, Pashko set out.

"Stalinists are threatening that they would use fingerprinting technique to identify those who voted for the opposition," Pashko added.

Pashko described the situation in Albania as "anarchic" and "catastrophic," and said that even bread was not available. He accused the present authorities of intentionally provoking unrest so as to convince Albanians that they had lived better before the democratization process began.

In order to discredit the opposition in the public's eyes, the regime is spreading rumours that the democratic party will sell Albania to foreigners and that chaos ensue, said Pashko (36), a lecturer of economics at the Tirana University.

Asked by TANJUG about the stand of the Albanian Democratic Party on relations with Albania's neighbours, Pashko said the Democratic Party, if it comes to power, would democratize the Albanian system on the basis of the CSCE documents and that this would be the framework of relations with the neighbours. Pashko set out that his party "maintains good relations with Kosovo," and added that "human rights are being violated" in this Yugoslav province. The Albanian Democratic Party, he said, also has good relations with two Yugoslav republics Croatia and Slovenia.

Pashko sharply criticized the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the Serbian media for being against Albania and not wanting Albania to become a democratic country.

PDSh Accused of 'Electoral Euphoria'

AU2303192391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Mar 91 p 3

[Altin Kaba article: "Is this March or 1 April?—The Democratic Party's Electoral Euphoria"]

[Text] We are heading for the 31 March elections. People throughout the country want to attain these elections in calm and stability, without shouting, insinuations, or a feverish chase for votes. Facts, however, show that the Democratic Party [PDSh], through its press and other activities, is feverishly clamoring for votes, using insinuations.

It is enough to leaf through the most recent issue of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE to notice this fever. One even has the momentary impression that we are no longer in the middle of March but somewhere in April, with the elections over and with a landslide victory for the PDSh. Let us speak with facts. RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE's most recent editorial stresses that the Albanian Workers Party's electoral defeat is already evident. We are thus blithely carried into the first days of April. Bravo! Do not forget, however, that the first day of April is the day of disillusionment. Let us continue. This newspaper's reports on the PDSh's activities in the districts stresses that a gathering in Burrel discussed the elections and the PDSh's electoral victory. Bravo! The PDSh's press has been cultivating this electoral euphoria for some time. In one of its newspaper's first issues, on 19 January, under a picture of two fingers raised aloft in victory, there is the caption: 500,000 participants in rallies for democracy. The PDSh has held and will hold other rallies. How has the number of participants grown to 1 million or 2 million? Calculations on this basis put all these votes in the PDSh's pocket. Thus, the party reached April in January. Bravo again!

Do not, however, be in any hurry, respected scribblers! People of common sense trust that we are moving toward democracy. The 31 March elections will show this; however, they do not forget that you are not genuine representatives of democracy. It is one thing to talk and shout about democracy, and another to create true democracy with prudence, dialogue, and tolerance.

By saddling the horse of fantasy, the PDSh is trying to make a reality of wishful thinking; however, this in fact indicates worry. It shows the PDSh's real distrust in the upcoming elections. The PDSh therefore beats its gong to deceive people and to bewilder the naive. It is premature joy based on a false psychosis that everything has collapsed. We are in real economic poverty and we are genuinely in a crisis, but the PDSh wants to paint a dark picture of everything, as if Albania in the last 45 years has been and is nothing but the Sahara Desert.

An element in this scenario of euphoria is a rumor produced by the PDSh in recent days, according to which a pollster has through his soundings reached the conclusion that 62 percent of the electorate will vote for the PDSh. This is nothing but a daydream. You are becoming masters of prestidigitation. You can say that this is what Europe does, which is true, but we have not yet entered Europe, as you so loudly say.

Of course, it is your right to choose your means in the electoral struggle, with pollsters and fireworks, but it is also the right of honest people to judge with their feet firmly on the ground and to weigh your wishful thinking. History obliges us to recall, to paraphrase a saying of Fan Noli, that from the 31 March elections we need a government "of the people, from the people, and for the people." While we are on this subject, we remind you that the great Noli, although he lived through the first and harshest 20 years of the cold war, never criticized "the democratic governorship," as he called the power of the people established in 1944, led by the Communists. We say, therefore, that your premature cries of victory resemble the sounds of those singers who know how to bellow, but have no ear to listen to what the people's heart says.

PPSh Aktiv Views Current Political Situation

AU2303184291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Communique of the Albanian Workers Party National Aktiv, issued in Tirana on 23 March]

[Text] A national party aktiv was conducted on 23 March 1991 under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Central Committee first secretary. The members and candidate members of the PPSh Central Committee and Communists and party cadres from all districts of the country took part in the aktiv. The aktiv discussed the current political situation, the tasks emerging now in the final phase of the campaign for the People's Assembly elections, and preparations for the party's future congress. Xhelil Gjoni, PPSh Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, reported to the aktiv on these matters.

1. The national aktiv positively assessed the work done so far to publicize the PPSh's electoral program and its candidates for the posts of deputies in the People's Assembly. It pointed out the wide interest of working people and citizens in this program and stressed the need to continue work to fully set out its advantages. Speakers spoke about the clear prospects opened by the PPSh with its sure alternatives for the country's future. They pledged to work determinedly to raise the political awareness of citizens and to create every condition to enable them to exercise their free will in the elections. At the present time, it was pointed out that the aktiv, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, young people, and women need the word of the party and the persuasive arguments of its members and supporters. All members of the party must do their utmost to enter electors' hearts and minds, persuading them to vote for the candidates of the PPSh, which represents a proved political force guaranteeing the country's peaceful development, ensuring a swift reversal of economic decline, a speedy revival of productive and social relations, and the strengthening of the homeland's freedom and prosperity.

The results of the 31 March elections will determine the future of our country and whether socialist achievements will be preserved and developed, or whether a question mark will be placed over them. Every Communist and citizen must, therefore, think and properly assess this historic moment with special responsibility. The members and supporters of the PPSh, all those who believe in the justice and realization of its alternative, should not spare themselves in convincing people, their families, friends, and comrades to vote for the PPSh's candidates.

2. The national party aktiv decided that the party's 10th congress will meet on 30 May 1991. The congress will analyze the work of the party and will approve its new program and statute. The aktiv stressed the need for all documents of the future congress to secure the party's all-around renewal, so that it may move in step with the times and always be an initiator of progressive transformations. The principles of representation at the congress were decided to be one delegate with a full vote for every 100 members, and one delegate with an advisory vote for every 100 candidate members.

3. Elections in basic organizations and district party conferences will be held between 15 April and 15 May 1991.

4. The national party aktiv approved an organizing committee for preparing the 10th party congress.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, PPSh Central Committee first secretary, delivered an important speech to the aktiv.

PPSh National Aktiv, Tirana, 23 March 1991.

Hungarian Foreign Ministry Official Arrives

AU2203200791 Tirana ATA in English 1029 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—The undersecretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, Imre Szokai, arrived in our country on an official three-day visit.

Present at the airport to receive the Hungarian foreign undersecretary was the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary in our country, Ferenc Poka.

Meets Deputy Minister Plaka

AU2303140691 Tirana ATA in English 1917 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—The delegation of the Foreign Ministry headed by the deputy minister, Sokrat Plaka, and the delegation of the Foreign Ministry of Hungary, headed by the deputy minister, Imre Szokai, conducted talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 22.

During the talks, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, both parties exchanged views on the further development of the bilateral relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Likewise they exchanged views on some international problems of mutual interest, especially on the situation in the Balkans, the process of the European security and cooperation, on regional cooperations, as the Balkan one, the Pentagonal, etc.

Attending the talks were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary in our country, Ferenc Poka.

Received by Kapllani

AU2403185991 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA) — On March 23, the foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani met and conducted talks with the under secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry of Hungary, Imre Szokai.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The two parties exchanged views on the possibilities for a fruitful development between the two countries in the political, economic, financial, technical, scientific fields, etc.

The minister Muhamet Kapllani acquainted the Hungarian friend with the political, economic and social reforms in the country and the importance of their success for the development of Albania in the future and its cooperation with the world. On his part the under secretary of state Imre Szokai evaluated the traditional links between the countries and Hungary's readiness to enter into cooperation with Albania in all the fields of common interest. Hungary and Albania may be reliable partners for one another concerning this cooperation, he said.

In the course of the meeting they spoke on the European processes of the CSCE and in this context on the importance of treating of the question of minority, etc.

On behalf of the Hungarian foreign minister, the Under Secretary of State Imre Szokai invited the Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani for an official visit to Hungary in a near future.

The meeting was also attended by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary to Albania Ferenc Poka.

Vatican Deputy Foreign Minister Pays Visit

AU2003205191 Tirana ATA in English 1909 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—A delegation headed by the foreign deputy minister of Vatican, Claudio Celli, arrived on a visit to our country on March 20.

At the airport he was welcomed by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka.

Received by Kapllani

AU2303140791 Tirana ATA in English 1900 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—The foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, received the foreign deputy minister of the Vatican, Claudio Celli.

After wishing him welcome, the foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, acquainted him with the deep reforms introduced in our country in the political, economic and social fields. Speaking on the human rights problem, he underlined that the Albanians enjoy the right to religious belief and the freedom of exercising it. Albania,the minister Muhamet Kapllani said, represents a "tiny universe" of religious belief, Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic and that different from some other country, where, in some case, the religious divisions are converted into a factor of social tension down to a political one, in our country, in conformity with our national tradition, they will serve the harmony of the Albanian people.

On his part, the deputy minister of the Vatican, Claudio Celli said that the Vatican is following with attention the democratization processes in Albania and in this context, also the observation of freedom of faith and religious exercise. The geographical and historical nearness, the deputy minister of the Vatican underlined, makes us feel closer to each other. We wish, he said, that Albania ushers in the road of democracy in social peace and without conflicts.

The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Vatican Delegation Departs

AU2403181191 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA) — The delegation of the Foreign Ministry of the Vatican, headed by the deputy minister, Claudio Celli, left our country on March 23.

He was seen off at the airport by Sokrat Plaka, deputy foreign minister and other officials of the Foreign Ministry.

Zhelev Attends Defense Ministry Meeting

AU2103210191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Defense Ministry Spokesman Captain Svyatko Donchev report on the 21 March Defense Ministry collegium meeting—recorded]

[Text] A meeting of the collegium of the Ministry of Defense ended a few hours ago. President Zhelyu Zhelev, Aleksandur Tomov, and Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, took part in the meeting.

[Defense] Minister Mutafchiev spoke about the changes that took place in the Army during the tenure of Dimitur Popov's cabinet, and the work related to improving the organizational structure of the Army and rejuvenating the commanding personnel.

A proposal was made to change the name of the Bulgarian People's Army to Bulgarian Army [Armiya] or Bulgarian Corps [Voyska]. In addition, proposals were made to change the names of military units, vessels, and even military schools.

Mutafchiev pointed out that during Popov's cabinet, appropriate conditions were created for strengthening the process of democratization and resolving many important problems in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Zhelev Attacked for Interfering in Proceedings

AU2203142791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 91 p 4

[Article by Velko Vulkanov, legislative member and responsible secretary of the Committee for Human Rights: "Separation of Powers"]

[Excerpts] The application of constitutional law in states throughout the world provides convincing proof of how dangerous it is to concentrate power in the hands of a single person or entity. The best person in the world could not remain untouched by the temptation to believe in his own infallibility. From this it is a very short step to the conviction that everything is permitted. Yet how many fates have ended in tragedy because of this truly small step! [passage omitted]

In Bulgaria, embarking on restructuring reestablished values that were suppressed in the past and resurrected mortified principles. The principle of separation of powers was also politically rehabilitated, and received its supreme juridical recognition in the amendment to Article 5 of the Constitution.

It must sorrowfully be affirmed that the separation of powers is as yet nothing more than a beautiful phrase. The forces of inertia of the past have proved very considerable, and they continue to exert their harmful influence on all of us, thus hampering the correct functioning of the state services. The recurrences of the old thinking have a particularly bad effect on the system of law-and-order services.

More than any others, the services of the court and the prosecution service need to be as independent as possible from the other state services. The dispensation of justice is impossible without objectivity, and objectivity is impossible if even the slightest external pressure is brought to bear on the services in question. One should not delude oneself into reasoning that the judge or prosecutor, if he possesses the necessary strength of character, will not submit to outside influence, from wherever it may come. We must first be quite clear that the number of people with character is not numerous. Furthermore, real justice cannot rely solely on the personal qualities of the persons who dispense it. We also need objective—legal and social—guarantees for justice to be correctly applied.

Having taken this stand, we cannot fail to be disturbed by the statements that President Zhelyu Zhelev made a few days ago to a BBC representative. The president predicted that the defendants in Case No. 1 on the Supreme Court's 1991 list would be found guilty, and promised further court trials.

Statements of this kind are completely incompatible with the principle of separation of powers. Whatever the president's subjective intentions were, objectively they represent a form of influencing the services of the court and the prosecution service. When a president, who is the head of state, declares his expectations, it is difficult for the court or prosecutor to remain uninfluenced by them. This is all the more likely now, when the court and prosecution service are in the process of reorganization, when—and let us be clear on this—many judges and prosecutors are asking themselves whether they will retain their jobs, and hence their secure source of income for supporting their families. (We should not forget that the judges and prosecutors are still not protected by security of tenure.) I do not exclude the possibility that some of them may make deliberate efforts to win the sympathies of those holding the reins of power, by following the implied suggestions made to them by the latter. I say woe to that justice that is implemented by people who have lost their independence, and woe to those who are called to answer for such justice. Having been made a tool of the executive power, such justice will be not only used to settle scores with inconvenient political opponents. No citizen will be sure of his freedom, security, and dignity if justice is guided not by the requirements of the law and fairness, but by political whispers into the judge's or prosecutor's ear.

Zhelev on Current Political Situation

AU2403195191 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Report on TV interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by unidentified reporter on 24 March; place not given]

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—The President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev believes that the situation in Bulgaria is normal. "The reform proceeds smoothly as planned," he said in a televised interview this evening. "This is confirmed by the support received from international institutions," the president emphasized.

In his view the government is doing a tremendous job. He himself did not expect the cabinet to prove that successful and efficient. The support of the political forces and of the two trade union amalgamations, as well as the political forces' agreement, have been instrumental in that.

Dr. Zhelev voiced concern over certain facts which hinder the reform, mostly in the administrative, political and legal fields. The government's work is not sufficiently concentrated, it tackles too many extrinsic things. Important decision making is delayed, the president said, citing the Land Act bylaws and the excessively delayed decree eliminating monopolies. The government has delayed the issue of decrees reforming the Ministries of Internal Affairs and of Foreign Economic Relations and combing out the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Zhelev pointed out.

Discussing the proceedings of the Grand National Assembly, the president said that in some cases it is too busy with itself. The parliament again wasted a whole week on the "Stoyan Ganev Case" at a time when it was supposed to pass the economic laws which are vital for this country. Dr. Zhelev believes that feelings can flare up again over the police files affair.

Dr. Zhelev declared himself in favor of the formation of a center in parliament which would forget about its partisan bias for the sake of Bulgaria and would vote through the new constitution.

Concerning the files issue, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev stated that he is in favor of a comprehensive implementation of the Grand National Assembly resolution. In his view, however, it is hardly likely that the resolution can be fulfilled entirely under the circumstances because the commission of inquiry still lacks full information on the files. He voiced concern over the fact that the "war of the files" may spill over parliament. Such a "war" is already breaking out outside parliament. Materials on political figures outside parliament have been published. All this can affect adversely the election campaign. "We may reraise the whole mire of the past, we may conjure up the phantoms of the totalitarian past," Dr. Zhelev said. He motivated his anxiety by several facts, including the disappearance of the files on the Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov, who was killed in London, and on the former opposition leader Mr. Petur Beron.

In conclusion Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said he was optimistic about Bulgaria's near and more distant future despite all difficulties and disappointments which the Bulgarian people must surmount.

Views Personal Files Case

AU2203150391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev has not taken any stand on the proceedings of the trial and on the investigation procedures related to Case No. 1, Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the president's office, said at today's regular briefing at the president's headquarters. His statement refers to certain reprimands and claims about the president's alleged interference into this case that were expressed at a news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] on 19 March 1990. Trifonov also rejected the allegations published in DUMA and in other newspapers about the president's alleged efforts to raise the question of the National Assembly deputies' personal files.

It is Zhelev's wish that the Grand National Assembly should strictly fulfill its decision on the work of the Legislative Commission in Charge of Personal Files, Trifonov said. I will recall that the decision foresees the legislative groups will hear the commission's report and will assess whether the report should be submitted to an assembly session behind closed door, or to a plenary session.

It was once more categorically stressed at the briefing that the functions of the Political Consultative Council are to consult and bring closer together the viewpoints of the political forces, while the allegations that the council interferes in the work of the legislature were called biased insinuations.

The media representatives who attended the briefing were informed about the president's forthcoming week, which will mainly focus on consultations at the National Security Council.

Trifonov Comments on 'Regenerative Campaign'

AU2203201891 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian president has authorized me to state that he has not taken any stand either on the course of the investigation or on the court hearings of Case No 1. None of his assistants has ever exerted pressure on the court," Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the president's office, said at a briefing today. He made this statement in connection with the news conference, given by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) reported by "DUMA" on March 20. According to the newspaper, the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Party Council, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, spoke about the "presidency's intervention in case No 1."

Mr. Trifonov added that probably Mr. Yonchev had in mind president Zhelev's principled stand that former party and state leaderships should be held responsible for the following issues: The forcible assimilation campaign against the ethnic Turks, the camps established after September 9, 1944, the causes of the catastrophe in Bulgaria's economy and in society as a whole.

"The president's stand is clear and categorical," Mr. Trifonov said. All members of the former party and state leadership personally involved in taking the decisions for the "regenerative campaign" and those who committed crimes, killing included, at that time should be put on trial as it is natural and logical under Bulgaria's legislation.

"We are also worried by an attempt the Movement for Rights and Freedoms has made to blame the on the whole Bulgarian nation, to strike a guilt feeling into it," Mr. Trifonov stressed. He said that this principled stand has been voiced repeatedly in this country and abroad, and there is no reason to interpret it as the presidency's intervention or as pressure exerted on court.

Mr. Trifonov said he was surprised that Mr. Ivan Genov, M.P. of the BSP spoke reproachfully at the same news conference about "irresponsible statements on Bulgaro-Soviet relations having been made by a topmost figure." Mr. Trifonov advised Mr. Genov that he should meet the Soviet ambassador to this country, Mr. Sharapov, and ask him about the president's stand on Bulgaro-Soviet relations.

SDS Demands General Election in June

AU2103210291 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 21 (BTA)—As a whole, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) keeps insisting on new general elections in June, as recorded in the political forces agreement.

The coalition finds that a postponement of the parliamentary election will jeopardize the progress of the democratic process, says a stand of the SDS Coordinating Council which was adopted today. The SDS supports the government and the economic reform it has launched and emphasizes that its principal goal is to change the system.

The influential Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Party, the Radical Democratic Party, the United Democratic Center and the Glasnost and Democracy Clubs favor elections in June, as does the Podkrepa Labor Confederation whose strike last autumn brought down the Lukanov Government. Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms also wants early elections.

The SDS-affiliated Green Party, Ecoglasnost and Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party want the elections to be put off until the autumn. They remained committed to this stand at the session yesterday of the Political Consultative Council which failed to reach a consensus on the parliamentary elections date. The Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) want late elections, too. The Socialists argue that the constitution must be promulgated before the conduct of elections. "Actually, the Socialists want to buy time: Unemployment will be rife in the autumn, and the blame will be laid on the government, a large part of whose members belong to political forces which are in the minority in parliament," Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, told the BTA. Other opposition MP's share this view.

Because the elections question remained unsolved at the political forces consultations, it will go before parliament. It must consider it shortly because the amendment to the political forces agreement will be introduced at a plenary sitting on Monday. Judging by the statements of MP's belonging to different factions, however, the decision will be hard to take and it will heavily depend on the vote of the socialist majority.

Today the Coordinating Council took a stand on what President Zhelev called one of the time bombs that might blow up parliament. "The police files of MP's and political leaders must be made public," the SDS leadership believes but wants the payroll secret agents' files to be submitted as well and the missing files to be traced. More than a month ago the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Into the Files announced the disappearance of the records of the former State Security Department that surveilled Communist Party members.

The Coordinating Council explicitly rejects any bargains on the files with other parliamentary forces.

It is still impossible to say when the files commission will present its report. Its chairman Mr. Georgi Tambuev told the BTA today that he was skeptical about the deadline in the middle of next week which his deputy pointed out. Mr. Tambuev plans to name the informers even if the agreement amendment demands a "no names" report.

Presidium Agaiast Dissolving Assembly

AU2203100591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 91 p 1

["Viewpoint of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party on Certain Topical Issues"]

[Text] During the past few days social tension has once again increased in the country. This has occurred not because of the rallies themselves, not even as a result of the threats of resorting to violence outside the legislature, but because certain representatives of the opposition have shed doubt on the 3 January 1991 agreement between the political forces. **The economic reform** requires the adoption of laws, and a consensus on this was reached in the agreement. What do the opposition representatives propose? Not to adopt such laws, but to hold elections without them. It is impossible to present a **more destructive** demand than this.

The Grand National Assembly has one supreme task, namely to adopt a **constitution**, and this is emphasized in the agreement.

What do the extremists in the opposition want? They want certain amendments made to the existing Constitution or, even better, for this National Assembly not to adopt a constitution.

Nothing can be **more ignoble** than this, or **more dangerous** for the country.

The agreement between the political forces clearly and unambiguously provides for **local and legislative elections**. Now the opposition extremists want to discard the local elections and to strike a blow against the people's right to self-government. Nothing can be **more undemocratic** than this.

The agreement states that the **Grand National Assembly** "is the only representative entity elected on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Bulgarian people." Yet what do certain opposition circles propose for the Grand National Assembly? Dissolution of parliament? No **adventurism** can be more reckless than this.

In fact, greater recklessness is possible, and this has become clear to us when we hear the viewpoints of certain opposition leaders that are now being presented against the agreement, with all their irresponsibility. The agreement states that the political forces declare their determination to guarantee a peaceful transition to a democratic society in the Republic of Bulgaria. It is precisely this peaceful transition that **gives no peace to the most frenzied** leaders of the opposition. This puts into question not only the legislature, not only democracy, but also Bulgaria's whole future. The vast majority of our people realize this, and will not allow it.

Interests Commission Views Indexation Payments

AU2203112391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Mariya Stoykova report]

[Text] Companies and other economic and noneconomic organizations will index January wages and salaries by 42.7 percent to compensate for the increase in prices. This was the proposal that the National Commission on Coordinating Interests made to the Council of Ministers at its session held on 18 March. The January indexations will be paid together with the compensation payments during April.

The commission also took into account the difference in the increase in prices from June to December 1990. For this reason, the following supplementary payments will be made for December: 16 leva for pensions; 13 leva for children's allowances; and 27 leva for student grants.

Professor Dimitur Shopov, deputy minister of labor and social welfare, told the commission of the ministry's fears that such high indexation payments would increase inflationary pressures, create conditions for a new rise in prices, and increase the budget deficit.

This view, which was supported by Ministers Kostov and Pushkarov, was strongly rejected by the representatives of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation, who reminded the commission that the agreement on social peace would be violated if no indexation payments were made.

At yesterday's meeting the National Commission on Coordinating Interests approved the basic procedures for calculating the minimum social subsistence costs, which are needed for determining minimum wages. The commission also discussed a draft text of "Recommendations for Conducting Negotiations and Concluding and Implementing Collective Contracts and Agreements." The draft text permits several contracts and agreements between the employer and individual trade unions.

The National Commission for Coordinating Interests made a proposal to the Council of Ministers on compensating the incomes only of those Bulgarians sent abroad to work, study, and undergo special training who receive their remunerations in nonconvertible currency.

Protesting Turks Hold Talks on Housing Demands

AU2303135691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] The relay hunger strike in Ruse by Bulgarian Turks continues into its fourth day. The protesters seek a solution to their housing and social problems, which arose following the events of the summer of 1989.

This morning Leven Mladanski, a representative of the strikers, stated to our correspondent that he took part yesterday in a meeting of the national initiative committee on these issues with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov. According to him, it became clear during the talks that next Wednesday [27 March] a governmental working group will announce concrete proposals for solving the problem.

The national initiative committee of the Bulgarian Turks had a meeting in Sofia with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, and with Ahmed Dogan, representative of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

DPS Organizes Turkish Language Courses

AU2203213291 Sofia BTA in English 1954 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—There are 200 operating mosques in the Southern region of Kurdzhali where the bulk of the population professes the Islam. The religious centers at which services are held are 225. Part of them have recently been repaired, covering the expenses through state subsidies and voluntary donations.

On the initiative of the office of the Chief Mufti, for almost a year now some of the mosques have been used by about 2,500 boys and girls under 14 who study Arabic and the Koran in their free time. The Mufti's office, however, has a serious problems with the insufficient training of the 170 imams, one in every three of whom is a pensioner.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] has organized Turkish language courses on club principles for over 2,000 pupils in the Southern Bulgarian regions populated by Turks. After school the children will attend one-hour-long lessons in Turkish. This will probably continue until the new school year opens in autumn, when it is expected that the problem of opening Turkish-language classes in the Bulgarian schools as an optional subject will be solved.

Rally Against 'Wave of Anti-Soviet Feeling'

AU2203142591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Radka Petrova report]

[Text] We are sure that the Grand National Assembly, the Presidency of the Republic, and the Council of Ministers will act in a timely way and do what is needed to conclude a new treaty with the Soviet Union based on mutual benefit, cooperation, and respect for our national independence, states an appeal by the main political forces in Kurdzhali that was publicized at a big rally held in the town on 18 March.

The wave of anti-Soviet feeling that has appeared has nothing to do with our respect for the Russian people, the document states later, adding that to renounce the age-old links between Bulgaria and Russia is tantamount to rejecting entire pages from our past history. It also points out that the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact makes it necessary for us to seek a guarantor for our national security, based on the principle of mutually beneficial cooperation, existing business contacts, and trust.

Trial for Assimilation Culprits Announced

AU2203212791 Sofia BTA in English 2044 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—"The trial of the culprits for the 'regenerative process' (the forcible change of Muslims' names in Bulgaria) will probably open in two months," Bulgaria's Prosecutor General, Mr. Martin Gunev, stated today at a meeting with M.P's. The evidence gathered during the preliminary investigation on the assimilation campaign and its consequences shows that the question is about fanning up racial and interethnic hostility and hatred a crime liable to a penalty of up to three years' imprisonment. But provided the necessary evidence is collected, it is possible to make the indictment under Article 416 of the Penal Code, the provisions of which prescribe 10 to 20 years' imprisonment or capital punishment for aggravated assault aimed at the complete or partial extermination of separate ethnic or national groups, Mr. Gunev explained.

The culprits liable to indictment include a member of the Grand National Assembly who has the respective parliamentary immunity. Another one is now being tried. These two facts make things even more complicated, Mr. Gunev said. According to well-informed sources who preferred anonymity, the first M.P. is Stoyan Mikhaylov, former high-ranking functionary of the Communist Party.

Heaps of evidence, party decisions on the change of the Muslims' names and witnesses' testimony have been collected and are being studied. In the last days the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Khristo Danov, has presented new evidence from the archives. All crimes have been classified in groups and the lists of the victims have been made out, but the prosecutor general refused to mention any concrete figures.

In their statements some of the M.P.'s presented some stages in the chronology of the assimilation campaigns launched in Bulgaria at the time of the totalitarian regime: In 1958 there was a campaign of renaming the gypsies, in the early 70's a campaign against the Bulgarian Mohammedans was launched, in the 1984-1989 the "regenerative process" took place and caused a mass exodus to Turkey. At all stages violence was used against those who would not succumb, killings included. According to M.P. Shakir Buyukov the dead bodies of four villagers from Kornitsa (the Gotse Delchev District) can be found beyond the border wire fences. They were Bulgarian Mohammedans shot to death in 1973 because they refused to have their names changed.

Foreign Ministry on Trade With Iran, Black Sea

AU1903151491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Mar 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Bulgaria To Receive Significant Quantity of Oil From Iran"]

[Text] Bulgaria and Iran will advance from clearing to payments in free currency. The appropriate trade agreement will be signed by the end of May. The residue of the clearing account will be used for the import of 1 million tonnes of oil. Iran is ready to offer us an additional quantity of 5 million tonnes of oil during the current year.

At the 13 March briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it was stated that the visit of Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov to the Islamic Republic of Iran was timely, useful, and fruitful. Iran is a traditional economic partner of Bulgaria. It is an Asian country to which we give priority, especially in our foreign trade relations, Doncho Donchev, deputy minister and member of the delegation to Iran, pointed out.

Bilateral relations, described as good, traditional, and friendly, have mostly attracted attention during the talks

of Minister Vulkov with President Rafsanjani, Foreign Minister Dr. Velayati, and other officials. The visit was used to discuss the state and prospects of bilateral relations in all areas. Information was exchanged on topical issues of international and regional character.

An agreement in principle has been reached to sign a 20-year agreement on ensuring an annual quantity of 1 billion cubic meters of gas through the USSR. Iran has also agreed to give Bulgaria a credit of 100 million U.S. dollars for purchasing goods. The conditions of the credit and the character of the goods will be determined later. It was agreed in principle to process Iranian oil in a Bulgarian enterprise.

Transportation Minister Veselin Pavlov discussed with his Iranian hosts the possibility of cooperation between the two countries in transportation. The Iranian Government has ratified the air transportation agreement, and now talks will open on establishing an air route between Sofia and Tehran. It is assumed that this will happen in the first half of 1991. Talks will be conducted on constructing a terminal for Iranian trucks, and on establishing and developing an alternative transportation route through Turkey, which will serve the combined sea transportation through the port of Poti in Georgia. Meetings will be held with Soviet representatives on determining the conditions of the payments.

A Foreign Affairs Ministry representative clarified the agreed draft on a convention on protecting the Black Sea from pollution. Bulgaria proposed the idea of the convention in 1976. Conditions for implementing it, however, have emerged only recently. A commission with broad prerogatives and functions will be established. The four countries bordering on the Black Sea, will have representatives in the commission.

Nikolay Bogdanov, head of "Cadres" Department at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, described the new criteria for recruiting and training the diplomatic corps.

Toman Addresses Federal Assembly on Collaborators

LD2203201191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0948 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Address by Deputy Petr Toman, spokesman for the legislative commission investigating the events of 17 November 1989, at a Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed deputies: I was authorized by the resolution of the investigation commission to acquaint you with the results of the work of our commission and with the results of the screening process. Before I inform you of the names of our colleagues who are registered as collaborators of the secret police, I would like to acquaint you with the course of action chosen by our commission and the evidence we have accumulated and made use of.

The parliamentary commission was set up to investigate the events of 17 November. It is composed of deputies of all parties represented in the legislature, with the exception of the Egyutteles Party, which is represented by a deputy of the Election Party. The representation of the parties in the commission is basically proportional. Therefore, it has been made quite impossible that the findings of the commission should be used selectively against one of another political party.

Resolution No. 94 of the Federal Assembly of 11 January 1991 entrusted us with the task of checking which of the deputies, ministers and their deputies, employees of the Office of the Presidium of the Government, and employees of the Office of the Federal Assembly are registered as collaborators of the secret police. The resolution set us the task of summoning the registered persons and informing them of the result. If within 15 days of the date when they were informed of the results of the screening they did not give up their deputy's mandate voluntarily, or—in the case of employees—their job, it would be our duty to publish their names. This is a short summary of resolution No. 94.

The rights of the investigating commission in relation to the rest of the bodies and access to secret information were defined by Federal Interior Ministry orders Nos. 121, 124, and 127 of 1990. These made it possible to gain access to all the buildings of the Federal Interior Ministry and at the same time the staff of the Federal Interior Ministry were ordered to present and pass over to the investigating commission all written and other types of material created while this ministry has been in existence. At the same time, all persons who were investigated were cleared of their duty of silence by the above-mentioned order No. 124.

Regarding the state of investigation hitherto, we will present a report on the result of the investigation only to the deputies of the Federal Assembly. The results of the screening of the rest of the persons to whom resolution No. 94 applies will be passed over to the chairman of the Federal Assembly and to the prime minister of the federal government. After this, the commission will inform the Federal Assembly of how these findings were used.

We have approached the screening of deputies in the awareness that the majority of deputies, with the exception of Communist Party deputies, had already, before the election, signed an affidavit stating that they had never cooperated with the secret police and that—we stress—they agree to further investigation into this matter.

During the screening, the commission discovered an interesting fact. Only in one case were the members of the commission the first persons since 17 November to look into the records of the given person. Therefore, it is a fact that the commission was not the first to discover whether or not a person was registered in the files of the secret police. Let us analyze who had access to the secret police files:

First, the secret police cadre officers who were in charge of the agents and the National Security corps cadre officers who had a list of them. Second, members of vetting commissions who also often had access to the files during the time the vetting was taking place. Third, the employees of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, who gradually, under three successive directors, obtained access to files, whether in the center or in the individual regions. Fourth, all ministers of interior, in the republics and in the federation, and people commissioned by them; and fifth—and this is in our view the most important point—after the setting up of the Government of National Understanding, when the Ministry of Interior was ruled by three members of the government—Calfa, Carnogursky, and Komarek—and in effect no one—the conditions in this ministry were such that secret police files could actually be taken out by anyone. From this viewpoint it can be expected that the files of the secret police agencies are in the hands of a number of people. We have specific evidence to prove that some documents that were labeled as destroyed still exist. We have specific evidence that some of the documents were photocopied before they were destroyed, and they exist, too.

The only method with which we can prevent blackmail or further activity by the collaborators of the secret police and prevent a number of political scandals at an unsuitable time is to purify the state and legislative bodies of these collaborators. [applause]

Seen in this way, the work of our commisison does not lead to political scandals and damages, but, on the contrary, prevents them. We can currently see in Slovakia and Moravia how various suspicions and information on collaborators with secret police can influence the current political situation.

Esteemed deputies: Before the screening began, we had quite specifically to clarify the issue of who should be

considered a collaborator with the secret police, as the resolution mentions, and to discover whether the resolution No. 94 really included all types of collaborators.

We proceeded from the guidelines on the work of agents of secret police issued in 1962, the guideline relating to the secret collaborators of Czechoslovak counterintelligence and [word indistinct] of 1972, and the guideline relating to collaborators with counterintelligence and [word indistinct] of 1978—that is, rules that covered the period between 1962 and 1989. We also proceeded from the guidelines on intelligence work of the first administration corps of the National Security Corps. [passage omitted]

We consider as fundamental evidence on which we rely in drawing our conclusions the Register of Files of the Federal Ministry of Interior. This is a list of all the people who were of interest to the secret police; that is, secret collaborators, as well as people they were screening, or who were listed as hostile to the regime. This register was compiled separately in every region of the Czechoslovak Republic. Every register is compiled in chronological order, and individual records are marked with a registration number and date. Apart from these two pieces of information, the register contains the real and code name of the person, his category, date of birth, the official who asked for the record to be entered, his department, section, the date of the completion of the document, and when it was destroyed or put into archives. That is, it contains all the data we were interested in. Every amendment to the register was dated and noted.

Now, on the issue of falsification of the register. All members of the commission exclude the possibility that it could have been falsified, or to put it more exactly, they exclude the possibility that a falsification would not be revealed in a specific case. Apart from the fact that the individual records are in order—they are all numbered and dated, and this from the beginning of the 1950's—it is possible to obtain an expert's view on the age of the paper on which the record is written, the age of the record; that is, of the ink or the biro, and the age of the seal that has been used. In the case of an erased record, it is again possible with the help of professionals to find out what the original record was. For example, in the Bratislava Register of Files, six pages have been torn out; that is, the records of about 60 people. Among these 60 people were 11 agents. Their names are well known, but some of them are unfortunately still in the offices to which they were appointed. This is, however, a matter for the screening commission of the Slovak National Council.

In conclusion, our commission considers the Register of Files to be a reliable source.

In spite of the trustworthiness of the Register of Files, we verified the records by searching for further evidence. We got it, in particular, by the interrogation of officials of the secret police by managerial bodies, heads of branches and their fellow workers, and also other persons. We have photocopies of files from statistical records, one fifth of them from the computer, and we verified the data by looking into further written material. Only after putting together all the evidence did we return to resolution No. 94 and state that a certain person is registered as a collaborator of the secret police.

Members of the Federal Assembly, allow me to read you the resolution of the Federal Assembly's investigating commission for clarifying the events of 17 November, dated 21 March 1991.

First, the investigating commission approves:

a. The interim report on the results of the investigation of 17 November 1989—this report is to be delivered on 22 March 1991 by Jiri Ruml;

b. The interim report on the implementation of Federal Assembly resolution No. 94 of 11 January 1991—this report is to be delivered on 22 March 1991 by Petr Toman.

Second, the investigating commission that fulfilled Federal Assembly resolution No. 24 was made up as follows: Jiri Ruml, Jiri Pospisil, Petr Toman, Jiri Dienstbier, Jan Vidim, Stefan Bacinsky, Eduard Bastigal, Julius Bobovnicky, Jaroslav Cuhra, Stanislav Devaty, Stefan Glezgo, Bohuslav Hubalek, Miroslav Jansta, Milos Krejcar, and Jozef Sepetka.

Third, the Federal Assembly's investigations commission, on the basis of resolution No. 94 dated 11 January 1991, notes that:

Petr Burian [Civic Forum] is listed in the Federal Ministry of Interior's Register of Files under the number 37,831 as a collaborator of the secret police in the category of agent, with the code name Socrates, from 4 October 1989 to December 1989.

Josef Bartoncik [Christian Democratic Union] is listed in the South Moravian regional Register of Files under the number 15,301 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Hajek, from 25 October 1971 to 26 April 1988.

Josef Masopust [Communist Party] is listed in the Prague and Central Bohemian regional Register of Files under the number 19,068 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent with the code name Pravnik, from 16 October 1972 to 2 May 1973, when he was transferred to the Register of Files of the Federal Ministry of Interior under the number 5,400 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Pravnik, from 11 May 1973 to December 1989.

Jaromir Gebas [Communist Party] is listed in the East Bohemian regional Register of Files under the number 15,514 as secret police collaborator in the category of agent with the codename Mirek, date of entry illegible, up to December 1989.

Lubomir Ledl [Communist Party] is listed in the Federal Ministry of Interior's Register of Files under the number 27,578 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Vlasta, from 4 June 1984 to 30 December 1986.

Jan Kavan [Civic Forum] is listed in the first directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior in file 12,402 as a secret police collaborator in the category secret collaborator, confidential contacts with the code name Cato, from 1968 until June 1970.

Rudolf Zukal [Civic Forum] is listed in the first directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior in file 20,798 as a secret police collaborator in the category of ideological associate, with the code name Ekonom, from 1962 to 24 August 1965.

Vojtech Filip [Communist Party] is listed in the first directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior in file 49,008 as a secret police collaborator in the category of ideological associate, with the codename Falmer, from 16 April 1986 to 1990.

The members of the investigation commission have obtained injunctions from the Prague-seven district court, reference NC 1104/91 and 1103/91 dated 21 March 1991, which impose on them as citizens of this Republic the duty to refrain from publicizing or in any other way spreading information which describes Deputies Boleslav Barta and Vaclav Tomis [representives of the Movement of Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia] as collaborators of the former secret police.

The members of the commission declare that they fully acknowledge these rulings. At the same time the members of the investigating commission note that as Federal Assembly deputies they respect the law on the Federal Assembly's rules of procedure, and in particular paragraph 91, section 6, which imposes on the investigating commission the duty to present its findings to the body which set up the commission, in other words, the two Federal Assembly chambers. At the same time, they are bound by resolution No. 94 dated 11 January 1991.

The members of the investigating commission, mindful of the importance of the tasks with which they have been charged by the Federal Assembly, mindful of the clash between the court's ruling and the other laws, mindful of their responsibility to the public and their own consciences, mindful of the possibility of action on the part of the Prague-seven district court but also of the veracity of their own statements, note that:

Boleslav Barta is listed in the South Moravian regional register of files under the number 21,091 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Slavek, from 19 June 1976 to 11 January 1980, and is also registered in the South Moravian regional register of files under the number 37,929 as a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Kantor, from 23 June 1986 to the year 1989.

Vaclav Tomis is listed in the Register of Files of the third directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior of a secret police collaborator in the category of agent, with the code name Marcel, from 24 November 1958 to 26 July 1960.

That was the text of the resolution of the investigating commission.

Members, let me wind up on a personal note by voicing my own deep appreciation and admiration for the deputies who have recognized the interests of the Federal Assembly and the interests of the political parties that selected them for the Federal Assembly, even in those parties' inner conviction that they were not collaborators, and who have resigned their mandate. I personally thank them. [applause]

Ten Deputies Named as Collaborators

LD2203140991 Prague CTK in English 1104 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—There are ten collaborators of the former secret police "StB" of the communist regime in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) at present.

This was said in a report of the parliamentary commission investigating the November 17, 1989 events which was read by chairman of the commission Jiri Ruml (Civic Forum) and Spokesman for the commission Petr Toman (Civic Forum) in parliament today. Toman mentioned the names of "StB" collaborators: Petr Burian (Civic Forum), Josef Batoncik (Christian Democratic Union), Zdenek Masopust (Communist Party), Jaromir Gebas (Communist Party), Lubomir Ledl (Communist Party), Jan Kavan (Civic Forum), Rudolf Zukal (Civic Forum), Vojtech Filip (Communist Party), Boleslav Barta (Self- Government Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia-HSD-SMS), and Vaclav Tomis (HSD-SMS).

Ruml acquainted deputies with the investigation of the November 17, 1989 events in Czechoslovakia that led to the fall of the totalitarian regime in this country. He said he can answer only the question what were the events on November 17 and what followed them but not what preceded them. From this point of view the work of the commission has not yet been finished. Although the commission has only a rough idea about the overture to November 17, it dares say it knows the purpose and the way of the former regime's overthrow.

Ruml chronologically listed the events of November 17 and mentioned the project "Klin" (Wedge) which was to disintegrate the opposition movement from the inside and which the STB adhered to until the end of November 1989.

He said that it was the behaviour of the people in Prague's streets, not backstage discussions and foreign countries' interests, that was decisive for the course of

the November 17 events. Also decisive for the communists' fall was the week that followed November 17. Still on November 24 the detention of 9,500 "hostile persons" was considered.

Jiri Ruml acquainted the deputies with the fact that StB members were given instructions as early as in November 1989 for work in new conditions that would be beneficial to the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Deputies Boleslav Barta and Vaclav Tomis (both for the Self- Government Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia) have filed a legal action with a district Prague court for being described as StB collaborators.

Today, after the expiration of the 15-day deadline given to deputies found to have been StB collaborators for giving up their seats, their names were announced. According to spokesman of the commission for the investigation of the November 1989 events, Petr Toman, five deputies to the Czechoslovak parliament used the possibility.

The main aim of the commission was to elucidate events that led in November 1989 to the collapse of the communist regime. At the same time the commission was entrusted with the screening of federal Assembly deputies but also of ministers, their deputies, and persons working in the Federal Government Presidium Office and the Presidential Office. Results of the screening will be handed over to pertinent officials.

Deputies Respond To 'Spy' Allegations

LD2203183691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The entire public awaited today's continuation of the 14th joint meeting of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly with great interest. [passage omitted]

Several dozen deputies spoke at the debate. Milos Zeman proposed that the entire affair be solved in court, saying that innocence should be assumed until then. Venek Silhan and Zdenek Jicinsky expressed doubt as to whether the resolution of 11 January was formulated correctly. The first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly said the aim was for the results of the work of the commission to lead toward a moral catharsis in the legislature and for the atmosphere of spy mania to be completely cleared. He is not sure, however, whether this aim has been fulfilled, he said. Together with Jan Mlynarik, he spoke in favor of assessing guilt on an individual basis and not indiscriminately. Richard Sacher described the report of the legislative commission as amateurish and proposed that it be rejected. He said that today's act has brought us nearer to political trials than to democracy, and this means a retreat from the position of a legal state. Daniel Kroupa said that the deputies mentioned should resign in any case because people whose credibility has been into question should not sit in the legislature. At the same time, he said that if they really resign, he, too, is willing to give up his deputy's mandate, out of solidarity. Pavel Bratijnka said that deputies are in the public eye; they play public roles, and people have the right to know as much about them as possible.

Chairman Milan Sutovec interrupted the meeting shortly before 1700. The debate will continue at 1000 on Tuesday.

Calfa Interviewed on Current Issues

LD2203224791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "10 Minutes With the Prime Minister"—recorded, reporter speaks in Czech, Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, because of your planned departure for Slovakia, we are taping our 10-minute interview now, in the late morning.

As the legislature decided that its session is going to be open and that television is going to broadcast a live report on the results of the investigation of the events of 17 November, this means that screening is going to be public. Therefore, I cannot fail to ask you what the situation at the Government Presidium is regarding this issue.

[Calfa] The Government Presidium is a rather big office, and of course we paid attention to our employees' activities of this kind. There were two rounds—the first one took place in fall last year and the second at the end of the year. I have to say that there were also some cases here, but we solved them rather simply—any employees who had this kind of problem have already left our office. From this point of view, the office is clean now. In other words, we are a bit ahead of the Federal Assembly at this moment.

[Reporter] Let us devote our attention to this week now. On Wednesday, after long months of discussions and arguments, the Federal Assembly approved the outstanding power-sharing issues in the sensitive area of mass media. In fact, the Federal Assembly adopted a version proposed by the federal government, with only small stylistic changes, and now the power-sharing is outlined. What would you like to say on this issue?

[Calfa] I would like to say that the Federal Assembly, in fact, adopted an amendment that finally allows them to set up Slovak radio and television and Czech radio and television in the republics. Given the legal regulations that were valid before the amendment, the law did not allow this, though in practice it could not be delayed any longer. Thus the Federal Assembly adopted the amendment enabling this. We hope that they will be set up as soon as possible and really begin to be active within the framework of the republics.

At the same time, it was noted that Czechoslovak radio and television continued to be active within the framework of the federation.

I am very glad that the Federal Assembly made this decision. We had certain arguments about it with the representatives of the republics. A proposal was made by the Slovak National Council that the Federal Assembly did not approve. The events of the last few days seem to confirm that probably it is really necessary in this phase of our development to have this kind of (?mass media) on the federal level. I have a certain feeling—though perhaps it is only a personal feeling—that the national mass media succumb quite markedly to certain moods, being closer to senior officials of this or that republic. Therefore, I think that on the federal level we are a bit more capable of having an overview of things, of those relations, and from this point of view we are also capable of securing the necessary objectivity for broadcast information.

I would note one more thing in this context: We have specific experience with radio—Czechoslovak radio stopped its medium-wave broadcast in Slovakia. The Slovak National Council did not release any money for it, and this led to a situation in which Czechoslovak radio broadcasts only on long-wave and very short-wave frequencies do not reach certain part of eastern Slovakia. Thus, in practice, the present situation is that Eastern Slovakia does not get Czechoslovak radio programs. We released resources for it of 26 million korunas and some change from the federal budget. We are taking steps to make federal broadcasts really audible throughout the entire territory of our state.

[Reporter] Last week I did not ask about the IMF, because that week the Ministry of Finance issued a rather detailed explanation of the matter and I thought that would be enough. Unfortunately, the press continues to publish all kinds of speculation about some sort of secret agreements or secret documents and mistrust of that institution. It is being put into the political context that before we used to be under the influence of CEMA and Moscow, and now we are under some sort of IMF influence, so let me ask you: Are there any secret documents or secret agreements?

[Calfa] Of course not. Lately there has been a mania in our country to make things more complicated than they are and to look for some sort of tangle behind things. There is truly nothing of the kind. In principle it is very simple. The IMF is really an institution at a high professional level, it carries weight in economic and financial circles, and we have begun to work together with it—we were once members of the IMF—primarily because we needed funds from that institution. The IMF is behaving like any other bank or any other credit mechanism; if it is going to give us funds, then it wants to check that we are solvent, that the funds will not simply disappear, and that they will be spent in a way that will then generate more funds so that the credit can eventually be paid back. [passage omitted]

Former Foreign Minister Released From Prison

AU2203134091 Prague CTK in English 1429 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek was today released from prison, Press Secretary of Prague City Prosecutor's Office Tomas Blaha said here today.

Chnoupek is prosecuted for the criminal offense of abuse of power of a public official. He had been in detention from October 23, 1990. The investigation continues.

Blaha said there is no danger that Chnoupek might continue committing criminal offenses, go into hiding or influence witnesses.

Nonparliamentary Parties Urge 'Responsibility'

LD2103101291 Prague CTK in English 2204 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—The Assembly of Political Parties, Movements and Associations in Czechoslovakia today urged the country's political representatives to display responsibility, good will and sense of reality at a moment which is decisive for the future developments in Czechoslovakia.

In connection with recent calls for Slovakia's separation from the Czechoslovak Federation and the crisis in the Slovak Government, the assembly said only a matter-of-fact and unbiased action can solve the situation satisfactorily.

The assembly, which was founded in February 1990, embraces over 90 parties, movements and non-political organizations. The parties ranking from Right to Left failed, with the exception of the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD), to win the necessary five per cent of votes in the June 1990 general elections to be represented in parliament.

At its meeting today, the assembly decided to apply for licence to run an independent radio station, "Bohemia Studio", which would be founded by its member subjects for which it would provide an objective news service.

The assembly also prepares a Czechoslovak-German public dialogue to promote mutual relations between the two countries, also at the government level.

Federal Government Issues Statement on Slovakia

AU2203130691 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 18 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Government statement adopted in Prague on 16 March]

[Text] The backbone of our activity is the implementation of the Federal Government policy statement. Opinion differences did not prevent the creation of the coalition government and they were not an obstacle to

the fulfilling of tasks in the first eight months of the government's being in office, either. We do not see any reason why it should be different in the near future.

We are coming to terms with a difficult heritage. Irrespective of whether it was a unitary state or a formally established federation, a bureaucratically and centrally controlled economy—one, moreover, hamstrung by one ideology—existed in our country in the past 43 years. The structure of a unified economy was created in a monopolistic manner and subordinated to one plan. The plan did not recognize any internal geographic boundaries. The terms Czech economy or Slovak economy, therefore, did not have any material content. We have also inherited the way of thinking and perception of many values. The Federal Government upholds the policy that factual decision making and control should be transferred to where they belong and are most efficient: to enterprises, communities, and individual entrepreneurs. A Slovak entrepreneur wants to have the same conditions as a Czech or Austrian entrepreneur. All people throughout the world have identical economic interests. By separating the republican economies, which are currently linked by firm ties, specific conditions [in both republics] are being created. It is an advantage, and not a disadvantage, of our economy that there is a single market for products, labor, and capital, a single currency, and single basic economic strategy. We fully identify with the aspirations of the Slovak nation to feel like a sovereign nation and we respect the fact that the Slovak nation is at the peak of its national self-awareness. National programs, however, have a chance of succeeding only if they are in harmony with citizens' economic interests and if they are backed by changes in the quality of life, comparable to those in advanced countries. The breakup of the state would disturb not only all the traditions of joint coexistence, but it would have a great impact on the standard of living in Slovakia and in Bohemia as well.

Federal bodies pursue no other interest but a dignified life for the Slovak and Czech nations and the nationalities living on our territory, nor will they ever have any other motivation, because there is no third territory and no third people. Artificially created boundaries between federal and republican organizations are unacceptable. Depicting federal officials as enemies is all too reminiscent of the experience of past years when "enemies" were used to be created to cover up errors.

The coexistence of our nations is overcoming a dangerous phase. In similar conflicts, polarization takes place and citizens are more inclined to reach a consensus than their representatives. In the interest of all of us, we must simply rely on citizens' common sense.

Kucerak on Current Situation in Slovak Politics

AU2003081391

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 16 March on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "Will the Silent Majority Speak Up," publishes a 2,400-word interview with Jozef Kucerak, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister, by SVOBODNE SLOVO reporter Miroslav Valka. The place and date of the interview are not given. It opens with a discussion of the cries "Judases!" heard under the windows during the session of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence Coordinating Committee. Kucerak says that he is sorry about it, but he is unwilling to compromise his stand on the integrity of the federation for the approval of some populists or nationalists. Similarly uncompromising is Kucerak, according to himself, in his support of the economic reform, and he goes on to say that promises of happiness might make people feel good temporarily, but he insists on telling the truth. He asserts that he would rather leave politics than gain power at the price of making false promises. On the other hand, he admits that "many politicians are interested in power," while the interests of Slovakia come only second.

Asked about his statement that he "would not work in a government in which economic reform is guided toward a national socialism of old men who failed in 1968, in a government in which ministers are blackmailed by means of screening and reduced to tears," Kucerak concurs that if the government continued in this vein, there would be no room for him.

The interviewer asks about Kucerak's accusing Meciar of "some lies" and other sharp comments. "Now, your prime minister is returning from abroad—and I cannot very well imagine your first meeting and further collaboration." Kucerak agrees: "I cannot envision it myself either, and I believe that our collaboration can no longer be a true collaboration. Thereby, I have already indicated that I would not even want to remain in the government." Kucerak goes on to say that he has already fulfilled his task, and that he feels that he contributed to preventing an even greater conflict.

Kucerak elaborates on the possibility of the VPN Slovak Council recalling Meciar despite the prime minister's popular support. It would be a risky business, but "in a parliamentary democracy, we should above all operate with concepts such as responsibility to specific movements and representative bodies and without the manipulative argument about responsibility to the nation and the people."

Speaking of Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Kucerak says that the difficulties connected with any attempt to find an orientation in his standpoints are a result "of a certain perplexity with respect to his own position in the past social occurrence and also of his age, and perhaps of a certain need for approval by certain people or groups; even at the price of causing some conflicts."

Asked about the referendum, Kucerak says he likes the idea because it would prove that the majority of Slovaks and Czechs want to live in the federal republic. Moreover, Kucerak is convinced that "Should a truly decisive

situation arise, the silent majority would speak up. The nation would not let itself be fooled for the second time." (The first time being the establishment of the fascist Slovak state in 1939.)

Meciar on Current Situation in Slovak Politics

AU2003173291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 16 March on page 2, under the headline "A Dividing Line Must Be Drawn," publishes a 1,250-word interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Igor Cibula on board a plane from Kiev to Bratislava on 15 March. Commenting on the political developments in Slovakia during his absence, Meciar maintains that two views are possible in assessing the situation. "One is linked with the proposal by a part of the Slovak cultural intelligentsia to declare the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic." According to him, this view is supported by a number of political groups, and one must talk to these groups. "The other standpoint is that these proposals for a declaration of sovereignty as well as the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] split into two parts are misused by some forces to incite a great campaign against Slovak politics and it began to tarnish the name and interests of Slovakia abroad." Meciar identifies these "forces" as "the part of the VPN around Fedor Gal, actively assisted by some official politicians from the Czech Republic," and he goes on to say: "A dividing line must be drawn between that which is denoted as the national movement in Slovakia and that which is Czech chauvinism."

Speaking about the platform of VPN for Democratic Slovakia, Meciar says that a lot has been done to discredit this VPN faction, and he proceeds to comment on the rumors of a coup, pointing out that a prime minister cannot lead a coup against the prime minister, and should a coup be planned, it would have to be somebody else's design. The fact is, according to Meciar, that the VPN has tried to introduce some changes in the government "not bothering with justification only because certain people ceased to be desirable for the movement."

In response to a question of how he would react to the attacks against former communists, Meciar observes that "while we were netting votes for the elections, we were friends. As long as we obeyed, everything was fine, but now—when we refuse to follow the party line, or to deform the relations between the state bodies—we are leftists, Leninists, and dangerous." Of course, Meciar continues, former communists like Kucerak, Kusy, and Calfa are all right.

The references to national socialism in the campaign against Meciar are, according to him, "a gross misrepresentation of the situation in Slovakia, which damages the name of Slovakia abroad and, if someone thinks that he is helping the coexistence of the Czechs and Slovaks, it is a historical oversight."

VPN Issues Statement on Meciar, Recommendations

AU2003214491 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 18 Mar 91 p 1

["Decisions of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence Movement," adopted at a session of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement in Bratislava on 16 March]

[Text] At its session on 16 March, the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] considered the internal political situation in Slovakia and its Czechoslovak and international implications. It regards the situation as dangerous for our democratic development, for the existence of the federation, and for stability in Central Europe. The discussion confirmed that a great deal of responsibility for the situation that has arisen is borne by the actions of some representatives who had been nominated to the Slovak Republic Government by the VPN. For this reason, the VPN Slovak Council states that:

1. The movement's activity will continue to be guided by the VPN's "A Chance for Slovakia" program, by the resolutions of the VPN Republican Assembly in Topolcany, and by the conclusions of VPN Slovak Council sessions held in the wake of that assembly;

2. At the root of the internal conflict in the movement are, apart from some differences in interpreting the VPN policy principles, primarily disparate methods of political work. This concerns mainly the disrespect for democratic principles in the activity of Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazko;

3. Vladimir Meciar, in particular, operates systematically with the method of publishing half-truths and demonstrably false information, by means of which he misinforms the public and perpetually creates the image of an enemy who is responsible for all our problems and difficulties.

The VPN Slovak Council states, for example, that:

a) in accordance with written testimonies by 12 participants in the 4 March 1991 session of the VPN Ministerial Club (M. Kovac, R. Filkus, M. Kusy, P. Zajac, J. Pisut, J. Flamik, V. Cecetka, J. Kucerak, S. Nemes, and P. Tatar) it is not true that any VPN body wanted to subject to censorship Vladimir Meciar's speeches or demanded a video cassette with his speech prior to its being broadcast.

b) it took note of statements by three deputy prime ministers of the Slovak Republic (J. Kucerak, V. Ondrus, and G. Zazslos), who confirmed that Vladimir Meciar, in their presence, called in question two other ministers of the Slovak Republic Government in connection with data on screenings.

Instead of searching for positive solutions, Vladimir Meciar creates pressure situations, in which he rejects

dialogue, cooperation, and consensus. It is also necessary to draw attention to his systematic campaign, by means of which he degrades and calls in question before the Slovak public the activity of the VPN, thereby creating the impression as though VPN bodies were not serving the interests of Slovakia.

4. Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazko have stopped cooperating with VPN legitimate bodies and have repeatedly and publicly refused to own up to their political accountability to the movement that had nominated them for government posts. By their activities they generate situations of conflict not only within the movement but within society at large, in relations with coalition partners on the Slovak and federal levels, as well as in relations with representative bodies and constitutional officials. Their actions have greatly exacerbated tension in society.

At its session on 16 March, the VPN Slovak Council adopted the following conclusions:

1. It recommends to deputies for the VPN in the Slovak National Council [SNR] to consider at the next session of the SNR Presidium the responsibility and legitimacy of the steps of the Slovak prime minister.

2. It appeals to deputies for the VPN in the SNR to initiate at the next SNR plenary session the work of a commission that would investigate the use of material of the former StB [secret police] in Slovakia by high state officials as well as the activity of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior since November 1989.

3. It recommends to deputies for the VPN in the SNR to draw consequences from the political responsibility of Milan Knazko, minister of the Slovak Republic Government, who by his speech on television on 3 March 1991 grossly misinformed the public and caused escalation of public tension and who by his political actions in the office of Minister of International Relations of the Slovak Republic casts doubt on the VPN's principled stand on the constitutional arrangement of the state as formulated in the "A Chance for Slovakia" program.

4. The VPN Slovak Council states that in their offices as constitutional officials Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazko do not represent the VPN as the movement that had nominated them into these posts.

5. The VPN Slovak Council entrusts the Presidium of the VPN Slovak Council with entering into coalition talks with the Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative about the situation that has arisen.

6. The VPN Slovak Council entrusts a group of members of the VPN Slovak Council (Gal, Stryko, Brezina, Cecetka, Kusy, Zajac, Szomolanyiova) with contacting Vladimir Meciar with the aim of informing him about the decisions of the VPN Slovak Council of 16 March 1991.

Furthermore, the VPN Slovak Council entrusts the VPN Coordinating Center with ensuring in organizational terms regular sessions of groups of experts formed at the VPN Assembly. It is necessary to speedily convene, in particular, the groups for VPN's foreign contacts and for the structure and development of the movement with the aim of preparing background material for deliberations by the VPN supreme bodies.

The VPN Slovak Council instructs VPN District Councils to submit by 30 March 1991 documentary evidence as to who has access to the VPN bank accounts and savings accounts. In the event of their failure to do so, the VPN Coordinating Center is charged with blocking the bank accounts as of 1 April 1991.

DS Wants Proof on Accusations Against Meciar

AU2203131291 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—The accusations against Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar are so serious that they must be considered speculative until a thorough investigation into the matter is conducted, general secretary of the Slovak Democratic Party (DS) Peter Missik told journalists here today.

Public Against Violence (VPN), the strongest political force in Slovakia, blamed Meciar at the weekend for disrespecting democratic principles in his activities and for spreading half-truths and misinformation thus misguiding the Slovak public on the reasons for VPN problems.

VPN declared that Meciar together with Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko, who formed a breakaway faction earlier this month, do not represent VPN in their posts.

The Democratic Party [DS], VPN coalition partner, which has four members in the Slovak Government, calls for further implementation of the Slovak Government program, especially for speeding up the economic reform while paying attention to the specific situation in Slovakia.

DS voices a great concern over the internal crisis in VPN. Unless the situation in VPN is settled quickly, DS will not bear responsibility for the destabilization of Slovak society, Missik said.

He added that some politicians and political groups do not fully realize what consequences the present political crisis inside VPN could have.

Slovak Organization Sues President's Spokesman

AU2203150191

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 20 March on page 4 carries a 300-word "open letter" from I. Sedlak, "administrator" of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, to Michael Zantovsky, President Havel's spokesman. In the letter, Sedlak protests against Zantovsky's "offensive words" about the Slovak National Heritage Foundation made on 11 March. Sedlak objects, in particular, to Zantovsky's claim that "fascism and the

Slovak state" were being propagated at a rally for Slovak sovereignty staged by the Slovak National Heritage Foundation in Bratislava on 11 March. He says that the Slovak National Heritage Foundation is "very sensitive to insinuations about fascism and separatism" as similar accusations had been raised against it by Antonin Novotny, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia prior to 1968. Sedlak vows that "the Slovak National Heritage Foundation will no longer yield to Czechoslovakist pressures as in the past Slovak culture always had to pay a price for that."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 March on page 1 carries a 150-word CTK report stating that on 20 March the Slovak National Heritage Foundation Presidium asked the CSFR General Prosecutor's Office to institute criminal proceedings against Michael Zantovsky for his statements made in an interview for CTK on 11 March. The Slovak National Heritage Foundation charges Zantovsky with crimes under Articles 198 (defamation of race, nation, and conviction) and 199 (spreading alarming reports).

Meciar's Supporters Against Coalition With MNI

AU2203145791 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Mar 91 p 2

[Open letter to the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement; place and date not given]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the Radio Journal program carried an open letter from Engineer Ladislav Fabian and Dr. Jozef Olejar to the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. Their letter states, among other things: We belong to those [members of the VPN Slovak Council] who left the VPN Slovak Council session on 5 March 1991. Because the subject of political responsibility was brought up, let us call attention to the fact that, to this very day, the VPN is dragging with it the problem of cooperation with the Hungarian Independent Initiative [MNI]. The VPN movement has not been informed to this day about the terms of the [agreement on] political coalition with the MNI concluded before the elections. Thanks to its presence on one ticket with the VPN and its personalities, the MNI won a large number of seats in the Federal Assembly, as well as the posts of deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and deputy Slovak prime minister. The positions of MNI members before and after the elections were vague, some of them have actually been upholding the program of [Miklos] Duray's party [the Coexistence movement]. This is testified to by the fact that these our partners have never presented their political program before the VPN Council or the VPN Assembly.

After the elections the VPN Council, whose members we were at that time, ascertained that the coalition agreement between the VPN and the MNI had been signed by Mr. Fedor Gal without the knowledge of the VPN Slovak Council. The fact that such a coalition agreement existed came to light only when, after the elections, the MNI came to collect considerable financial resources promised to it by Mr. F. Gal as profit from the elections.

It seemed to us that decisions were being made somewhere outside the VPN movement and that only a small group of people was allowed to participate in them. This group has seized control over the VPN, without having a mandate from Slovak voters. We have never learned the terms and the results of the cooperation between some members of the VPN Coordinating Center and the Prague Castle. After VPN Assemblies repeatedly rejected F. Gal's and J. Flamik's proposals for the creation of a so-called federal umbrella over the VPN, a small but influential group came into being that enforced federal interests silently.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 March on page 2 carries the following unattributed report: "Speaking on television, F. Gal rejected as untrue the statement of Jozef Olejar and Ladislav Fabian, former VPN Council members, in which they cast doubt on the correctness of F. Gal's decisions in connection with the preelection agreement between the VPN and the MNI."]

Meciar Shadowing Claim Meant To 'Cause Anxiety'

AU2303203691 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Jan Subert report: "Who Shadows Meciar?"]

[Text] We asked Federal Interior Minister J. Langos for a comment on the statement by Prime Minister Meciar—made at Monday's television news conference—that his movements and activities are supervised by "shadows" from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Information Service. According to Langos, Meciar has complained about being followed for months. However, as Slovak prime minister, he has at his service the Slovak police including its criminal department which, in turn, has its own investigation department capable of countersurveillance action.

So, if Mr. Meciar—as J. Langos says—used this opportunity, in a week or two, he would have at his disposal a concrete report on car license plates or people who follow him. The minister also said that the Federal Information Service does not have any "shadowing" service, emphasized that this special unit is controlled by him personally, and that he is well informed of all its actions. Moreover, we also managed yesterday to learn the position of J. Novotny, director of the Federal Information Service. He personally is willing to swear on his own life that nobody from his staff is involved in any action

against V. Meciar. Let us add, it is not the first time that the Slovak prime minister has attacked the Federal Ministry of the Interior. However, his accusations are never specific and are therefore hard to disprove. At the same time, Mr. Meciar, as Slovak prime minister, can reinforce his guard, or even request the aforementioned countersurveillance and publish the results of it. Nevertheless, his accusations remain general and one is justified in believing that their purpose is to cause anxiety and spread disinformation.

Slovak Poll Taken on Political, Economic Issues

AU2203134291 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 20 (CTK)—Only eight percent of Slovaks want the economic reform to be as quick as possible, regardless of side-effects in the social sphere, according to a poll the results of which were published here today.

Five percent of the 1,227 respondents told pollsters of the Slovak Statistical Office in February that they did not need to reduce their consumption as a result of the liberalization of prices at the beginning of January. 40 percent said they had to be careful with spending but were doing well. 44 percent feel their earnings are sufficient only for the basic necessities and 11 percent say they live in scarcity.

In another poll conducted by the same office among 18-19-year-olds, 1,201 respondents said that price rises were their worst worry. 47 percent regarded the high crime rate as the greatest problem, 43 percent were worried by unemployment, 32 percent by market-supply problems and 20 percent by bad relations between people.

In the other poll 12 percent said they wanted to buy property in the "small" privatization and 85 percent were not interested.

72 percent of the respondents in the poll in the Slovak Republic, the eastern one-third of Czechoslovakia, supported the continued existence of farming cooperatives in the country. 17 percent considered cooperatives useless and 11 percent did not know. 9 percent and 15 percent respectively were either determined or inclined to become private farmers if the conditions were favorable.

70 percent rejected the proposal for a temporary extension of presidential powers while 22 percent agreed with it.

In the teenager poll, the Public Against Violence (VPN), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the Slovak National Party (SNS) and the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) equally shared the sympathy of the respondents, each having been favored by 13 percent. 10 percent supported the Greens, 5 percent the Democratic Party and 4 percent the Coexistence (Egyutteles) movement.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar enjoyed an 81 percent popularity among these young people, followed by Federal Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek with 17 percent, Slovak Parliament Chairman Frantisek Miklosko 11 percent, Federal Premier Marian Calfa 8 percent and Slovak Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky 7 percent.

Three-fifths of the respondents accepted energy production in Slovak nuclear power plants. 77 percent believe that if the controversial plant at Jaslovske Bohunice operates reliably and safely, it should be left in operation.

Reform Said To Discriminate Against Slovakia

AU2203134491 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Mar 91 p 8

[Interview with Slovak Statistical Office Chairman Rudolf Krc by Ivan Klacansky; place and date not given: "Are the Social Repercussions in the Slovak Republic More Severe?"—first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] One of the prerequisites of objective statistical data is that it must record and reflect the reality, no matter how unpleasant it may be. This includes, for example, higher unemployment figures, lower wages, and a sharp deterioration of the standard of living of families with several children. We asked Engineer Rudolf Krc, chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office, for such an objective assessment of the situation.

[Klacansky] What are the social repercussions of the economic slowdown in Slovakia?

[Krc] The social repercussions in Slovakia are more severe [than in the Czech Republic]. This is documented, for example, by the weekly surveys of prices in selected shops, which mostly show higher prices in Slovakia than in Bohemia. That is one fact. Even annual data shows that the cost of living in Slovakia is somewhat higher than in Bohemia. At the same time average wages are lower in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic and the average level of social security is lower. There is a larger number of families with three or more children here and a relatively lower level of support for old age pensioners. When I put all these factors together, it seems to me that the impact on Slovakia is harsher. The General Agreement [concluded between the government, the trade unions, and employers] was based on federal data. Because there is a higher percentage of monthly wages below [the officially set minimum wage of] 2,000 korunas in Slovakia, however, we insist that the social network in Slovakia be based on Slovak data rather than on the federal average.

[Klacansky] There are many discussions about the economic results of Slovakia being rather strongly affected by the low proportion of manufacturers of final products among Slovak enterprises.

[Krc] I believe that this is still true and the development of foreign trade, too, confirms it. Slovak enterprises import raw materials and they export less, which means that they profit much less from policies that promote exports and are affected far more severely by policies that are aimed at reducing imports; therefore, we see that imports in Slovakia are growing much more rapidly than in the Czech Republic.

[Klacansky] Does this mean that Slovak enterprises would suffer in the event of another devaluation of the koruna?

[Krc] This might happen. If the devaluation is carried out in the same spirit [as the previous devaluations], it will happen for sure. I would even formulate the problem so what we need is a flexible policy rather than a policy that promotes exports and discourages imports. The obsolescence of our production base continues to grow and the policy of import substitution does nothing to renew it. Unless we renew it, there will be no structural change.

Slovak Economics Minister on Arms Production Cuts

LD2103233191 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Martin, Central Slovakia March 21 (CTK)—The federal cabinet's resolution to cut back arms production in Slovakia would have threatened the existence of 70,000 people and that was why the Slovak Government did not agree with it, Slovak Economics Minister Jozef Belcak said here today.

In a discussion with West European journalists visiting arms factories in Slovakia, Belcak noted that in the last 10 years Slovakia has accounted for 65 per cent of total "special"—i.e. weapons—production in Czechoslovakia. The resolution passed by the federal cabinet would have cut this year's production to 2,000 million crowns worth of weapons.

The Slovak Government favours a gradual reduction of arms production, with adverse effects to be softened by trade agreements on energy, electrical engineering, transportation and communications signed last week with Italy and the USSR, Belcak said.

Differences in Slovakia's Economic Reform Conditions

LD2103141291 Prague CTK in English 1130 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 21 (CTK)—Slovakia casts no doubt upon economic reform but, as Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said recently, its realization, setting of priorities, and attitude to social policy and creation of working opportunities are different in Slovakia from those in the Czech Republic. Neither does the leading political force in Slovakia—the Public Against Violence (VPN)—which has been criticizing Meciar in the past days, voice any reservations as regards the fulfilment of the Slovak Government program.

Some objections to the economic reform result above all from different structures of the Slovak and Czech economies. There is above all energy-intensive primary production in Slovakia which is moreover dependent on the imports of raw materials from the Soviet Union. The republic also feels the negative impact of the conversion of the military into civilian production. Slovak enterprises which in the past oriented their exports on the Soviet Union and former socialist countries have now big difficulties in connection with the collapse of the market of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). In consequence of these facts, including devaluation of the Czechoslovak crown, almost all branches of the Slovak economy are facing the threat of unemployment being twice as high as in the Czech Republic. At present there are almost 80,000 unemployed people in Slovakia, i.e. 2.6 per cent of persons in productive age (the republic has five million inhabitants).

The 'independent association of Slovak economists' is therefore of the opinion that the economic reform realized in Czechoslovakia is disadvatageous for Slovakia's economy. The association calls for fixing Slovakia's economic sovereignty firmly in the constitution.

VPN's coalition partner, the Christian Democratic Movement (the second strongest political force in Slovakia), has submitted its own alternative solution as regards the further procedure of the economic reform in Slovakia. Its main aspects are social-oriented economy and competence of the Slovak Government in decision-making in the sphere of economy in the republic. The Slovak economists call also for the creation of a Slovak bank of issue and delegation of foreign trade activities, tax and customs policies to the republics. [as received] In spite of the fact that the Christian Democratic Movement agrees with the liberalization of prices, in price policy it requires broader state regulation measures in the interest of preserving basic social certainties of citizens.

The Democratic Party, another government coalition partner, supports a quick realization of the radical economic reform, pointing out that specific features of the Slovak Republic must be taken into consideration.

The opposition Democratic Left Party (former communists), the fourth strongest party in the Slovak parliament, considers the economic reform an inevitable process in the framework of a federative setup, stressing respect for and use of specific features of the national economies.

Slovakia, Quebec To Cooperate on Gabcikovo Study

AU2203131491 Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CTK)—The Slovak Government today entrusted Forestry and Water Economy Minister Viliam Oberhauser with signing an agreement with the Canadian state firm Hydro Quebec International to work out an ecological study on the Gabcikovo hydro project.

According to Slovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky, the Canadian Government may help fund the study.

Gabcikovo is the Czechoslovak part of a joint venture with Hungary, the construction of which was started on the Danube in 1978. The Hungarian part is situated at Nagymaros, several dozen kilometres downstream.

If the project proceeded as planned, it would have now been in operation for more than four years. However, Hungary has suspended work several times and in 1989 it said it was withdrawing from the project on the common border for environmental reasons.

But Czechoslovakia wants to continue construction at Gabcikovo believing that, if finished, it will do less damage than if left as it is. The country badly needs new sources of electric power in order to be able to close down thermal power plants, situated mainly in northern Bohemia, which burn brown coal and are highly detrimental to the environment. Another source of electric power in Czechoslovakia, nuclear plants, came under heavy criticism from Austria recently. Yet Czechoslovakia is ready to go ahead with the construction of a plant at Mochovce, west Slovakia, and two units at Temelin, south Bohemia. Another two plants at Jaslovske Bohunice, west Slovakia, and Dukovany, south Moravia, have already been operating. Their output now covers about 27 percent of Czechoslovak (?electric power production.) [Item incomplete as received]

Vrba on Importance of Trade With USSR

AU2003090791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Jan Vrba, Czech Republic minister of industry, by Blanka Ruzickova; place and date not given: "Important Agreements"—first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Excerpts] At the end of last week, representatives of the Czech Government headed by Prime Minister Pithart visited the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. They discussed economic relations between the two countries and mutual trade.

We spoke about the agreements reached with Jan Vrba, Czech Republic minister of industry, who said that the first agreement emphasizes the unsatisfactory state in the exchange of goods, and the necessity of seeking common grounds in dealing with the situation.

[Ruzickova] What is the present state of mutual trade?

[Vrba] Last year, the CSFR exported to the USSR goods worth approximately $5.5 billion, i.e. about 20 percent of the total production of Czechoslovak enterprises. This year, trade is being conducted on three levels: on the level of the federation, on the level of the republics, and directly between enterprises. The first two involve trade carried out on the basis of indicative lists. This year, the lists included goods worth approximately $2 billion, i.e. a little more than one-third of last year's volume. The main obstacle to making this up on the level of enterprises is the requirement of payments in dollars. [passage omitted] The most plausible way of dealing with the problem is barter and clearing payments of the type used after 1945.

[Ruzickova] I presume that this business should be conducted through a clearing institution....

[Vrba] There was a lot of talk about a so-called Russian trading house. We should prepare its statutes by the end of the week, and its establishment by the end of the month.

[Ruzickova] What other documents did you sign?

[Vrba] The agreement between the RSFSR and the Czech Republic ministers of industry states that it is necessary to utilize the marketing possibilities of the RSFSR market as well as the experience and technical expertise of the Czechoslovak industry. [passage omitted] At the end of the month, Minister V.J. Kisin will bring a detailed offer of various projects. The important factor for us is that they could include cooperation with regions like Tyumen and Orenburg with their oil drilling, or Yakut territory with its lumber supplies. Setting up a regime of joint ventures is also a part of the two aforementioned documents. [passage omitted] If one expresses the decline in trade with the USSR in jobs, in the sector of the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry alone it represents a loss of employment for more than 400,000 people. Therefore the agreements signed in the RSFSR are extremely important.

Ministry Denies German Property Issue Raised

LD2203234191 Prague CTK in English 1817 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Press Department today denied a newspaper assertion that property and other claims of the Sudeten Germans have been raised in talks on a treaty between Czechoslovakia and Germany.

The ministry reacted to an article in the leftist daily "RUDE PRAVO" today which said that the demand that property issues be included in the treaty was raised

in talks "now under way for several weeks between the foreign ministries" of the two countries on a treaty on relations between them, in contrast to an understanding reached by the two sides earlier.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry stated that government commissioners met for the first round of talks on a treaty of good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation in Prague February 27 and 28, thus saying the claim about discussions going on for several weeks was "misleading".

"The two sides exchanged views on the structure of the future treaty. No legal matters concerning property were discussed nor did the German draft structure for the treaty contain any property and other demands of the Sudeten Germans", the ministry said.

It disputed the newspaper's claim that Czechoslovak Ambassador Jiri Grusa has dual citizenship - he has only Czechoslovak citizenship, the ministry said.

It added that it knows nothing about "influential voices at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry" which, according to "RUDE PRAVO", are recommending that the German demands be accepted.

Some 2.4 million Germans were transferred especially from the border regions of Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten, to Germany after the Second World War, mostly during 1946, following approval by the Potsdam conference. Their property was expropriated. About 185,000 people declaring their nationality to be German were registered in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1948.

Walesa Meets U.S. Congressional Leaders

LD2103232691 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Washington, March 21—President Lech Walesa today returned to the site of his greatest triumph in the United States where, speaking in November 1989 to the joint session of both U.S. parliamentary houses as the second private person to do so in the U.S. history, he thrilled his listeners with an emotional speech on the struggle for freedom in the Central and Eastern Europe and where he was applauded 25 times.

This time Lech Walesa met with leaders of the House of Representatives Thomas Foley and Robert Michel, and later with members of the House's Foreign Commission [Foreign Relations Committee] and Senate leaders not as Solidarity chairman but as the president of Poland.

During the talks and meetings in both parliamentary houses Lech Walesa was received as the man who symbolizes the grand Solidarity movement. Although this movement was born in Poland, said leader of the House of Representatives Thomas Foley, it gave an impulse to the sweeping changes going on in the entire Central and Eastern Europe.

The Polish president said that this time he did not come over to the Congress to deliver a great programmatic speech but to talk about what can and should be done to keep the process of reforms in Poland developing, to overcome the negative phenomena in economy which, if persisting, could have serious consequences for stabilization in the world.

Before his visit in the Congress on Thursday morning Lech Walesa laid a wreath on the Tomb of Unknown Soldier at the Arlington National Cemetery in Washington.

Walesa, president of a country which joined the pro-Kuwaiti coalition, put flowers on one of the newest graves, that of Marine Captain Jonathan R. Edwards who was killed on February 2 when his helicopter crashed near the Saudi-Kuwaiti border during the "Desert Storm" Operation.

Lech Walesa also visited the grave of John F. Kennedy and put a bunch of flowers on it. For the third time Walesa laid flowers at the coffin of one of the few foreigners buried at Arlington Cemetery: a Polish statesman and outstanding pianist Ignacy Paderewski who died in New York on June 29, 1941.

President Walesa was to meet with Vice-President Dan Quayle, Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady, and Chairman of the U.S. AFL-CIO Trade Union Federation Lane Kirkland today in the evening (Warsaw time).

The programme further included visiting of the Holocaust Museum construction site, a meeting with members of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, and a group of Jews who survived the annihilation. To close the day, President Walesa and his wife gave a reception at the Polish Embassy in Washington.

One of the main aims of President Walesa's visit is to encourage U.S. businessmen to investing in Poland. Heads of the economic ministries who accompany President Walesa have held negotiations with U.S. Administration representatives since last Wednesday.

Minister of Industry Zawislak also talked with World Bank officials and leading personalities in the International Financial Corporation (FIC).

Meets With Businessmen

LD2303004691 Warsaw PAP in English 2252 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Washington, March 22—Lech Walesa wound up his three-day visit to Washington on Friday [22 March] having won the U.S. promise to further reduce the Polish debt, the assurance of continuing assistance for the programme of reforms in Poland, and the official statement that the U.S. attaches great importance to consolidating and ensuring democracy and independence of Poland.

After two days of political lobbying, Lech Walesa has started today a series of meetings with American businessmen to encourage them to invest in Poland. He will continue them in California, Chicago and New York during an unofficial part of his visit.

At today's meeting with several hundred businessmen in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Lech Walesa invited them to Poland to do business there and officially announced the lifting of Polish visas for Americans as of April 15.

While the Polish ministers were answering questions, Walesa, accompanied by U.S. Trade Secretary Robert Mosbacher, met with managers of 16 large American companies, including ATT, General Motors, and Westinghouse. He later made a speech to the businessmen who gathered in the trade chamber.

President Walesa invited them to doing business in Poland and he drew attention to the fact that during the coming 3 years Poland plans to privatize 50 percent of its production assets and wants to render its ownership structure comparable with that in Western Europe within 5 years from now. "The type of economy we are seeking is the U.S. economy," Walesa said.

Lech Walesa further stressed that Polish economic potential can be seen in the 4 billion dollar surplus obtained by foreign trade in 1990 and that licences to start companies are now required in only few branches, like the defence industry. The president also said he expected the participation of U.S. business first of all in three fields: telecommunications, banking, and east-west transport.

"Your profits may well be many times greater than inputs. The Germans are most active at the moment and now we wait for the Americans. Every second company should be American," Walesa declared.

The American people and its leaders have done most worldwide to promote Polish reforms, Walesa told journalists at the Washington Press Club today.

One should pay tribute to President Bush and American politicians for understanding us and reducing our debts. I thank them for this great and patriotic gesture that enables us to continue our reform.

Asked about relations between Poland and the USSR, the Polish president said that Gorbachev's problems are 50 times greater than Poland's problems and that Poland wishes Gorbachev well and does not want to hamper him.

Asked about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, the Polish president said: We are doing our best to contribute to the withdrawal of these troops from Poland but not on the principle of expelling or ordering them out. These troops will certainly withdraw and we want this to take place as swiftly as possible. This question is making progress. At first 1994 and later 1993 were mentioned as dates of withdrawal. The third possibility are my talks with Gorbachev, the Polish president said. [sentence as received]

Meets With Ronald Reagan

LD2303233791 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Los Angeles, March 23—President Lech Walesa inaugurated the second part of his U.S. visit as he arrived in Los Angeles Friday evening. The president and his wife were met at the airport by Mayor of Los Angeles Thomas Bradley and representatives of the Polish community.

Lech Walesa twice met with former U.S. President Ronald Reagan: first in Reagan's office where they talked for 40 minutes about the Polish political and economic changes and their international context, and immediately after that both leaders took part in a dinner given to their honour by the International Relations Council at the Beverly Hilton Hotel. Over 1,200 guests greeted former U.S. president and the president of Poland, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, with a long standing ovation.

The ceremony was opened by Polish and U.S. national anthems. Ronald Reagan said he was proud and happy with the fact that the great Polish patriot, a symbol of the struggle for freedom initiated over a decade ago by Solidarity was with him today. Lech Walesa and Solidarity, he said, achieved what had seemed impossible: they gave freedom to Poland. Poland is a country the world can and should be proud of, Ronald Reagan concluded.

Lech Walesa began his dialogue with the guests by voicing thanks for all good Poland has got from the American nation without which there would be no "common victory." On behalf of the Polish nation Walesa decorated Reagan with the order of merit with the star and stressed that the former U.S. president made his vast personal contribution to the victory of Poland and other countries.

Walesa also spoke about the opportunities Poland offers to the U.S. business today. He said it was his desire that Poland turns similar to the U.S. and becomes "an America of the East."

Before Walesa's departure for Los Angeles, his secetary Andrzej Kozakiewicz laid wreaths on the president's behalf at the monuments to the Polish-American national heroes Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski in Washington.

Meets Emigres in Los Angeles

LD2403203791 Warsaw PAP in English 1902 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Chicago, March 24—Polish President Lech Walesa met with the Polish community of California in Los Angeles last Saturday and with former U.S. President Ronald Reagan for the third time during the present visit.

"I will do all I can to let you feel proud of Poland, to see our country developing and not bringing shame (on you), to see Poland in the place she deserves among nations of the world," President Walesa said at a meeting with a several hundred group of Polish-Americans in Los Angeles last Saturday. "Please, be the ambassadors of the Polish cause, be the presidents of Poland wherever you are," Walesa called.

The meeting was very emotional, marked by admiration, and friendly disposition towards the Polish president expressed in the welcoming addresses by representatives of the state authorities, among them California's Secretary of State Margaret Fong and mayor of Los Angeles Thomas Bradley, but first of all by Polish-Americans who gave the president several standing ovations during his speech there.

The meeting helped both sides realize the potentials for developing cooperation between California and the "eventually free" Poland. Poland was wished success in reforming the economy. The Polish president stressed that the freedom of Poland is not the achievement of the present generation alone but the effect of struggle by many Polish generations, including the expatriate ones, and the result of favourable conditions on the international arena. "I believe that we are not going to waste this opportunity, though troubles and difficulties abound along our way," Walesa said.

Later Saturday, Lech Walesa and his wife joined former President Ronald Reagan and his wife for a brief tour of the unfinished Reagan presidential library in Simi valley.

On Saturday evening the presidential couple was welcomed by the world-larget centre of Polish emigration in Chicago.

Sunday was a day of many meetings and direct talks held by the president and representatives of the Polish community in Chicago, businessmen, authorities of Chicago and the state of Illinois.

Urges Investment at Chicago Meetings

LD2503115291 Warsaw PAP in English 1048 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Chicago, March 25—On Sunday, another day of his American tour, Polish President Lech Walesa held a number of meetings with American Poles in Chicago, the largest Polish community in the U.S., to encourage them to invest in Poland.

In the morning Lech Walesa and his wife attended a mass in the world-largest Polonian parish in Chicago. Addressing the Polish president, Bishop Jakubowski said: "Today we are looking hopefully at the historic visit. We believe that it will be conducive to deepening cooperation which will help overcome the crisis and consolidate our solidarity on the road of constructing a free, sovereign and rich Poland.

"The American Poles have been and still want to be committed to the democratic changes in their motherland," the bishop stated.

Ending his visit to the Polish village district, Lech Walesa laid flowers at the monument to Father Jerzy Popieluszko, a Polish Solidarity priest murdered by the security police.

In the afternoon President Walesa met with head of the Polish American Congress Edward Moskal and some leading activists of the organization to discuss possibilities for lifting organizational, legal and tax barriers hindering businessmen from doing business in Poland. The talk also concerned conditions for tightening links between Polonia and the motherland and the question of bringing the ashes of Ignacy Paderewski to Poland.

The Polish president met also with representatives of Arthur Andersen and Company, a large firm specializing in economic management and auditing. Walesa was glad to learn that the firm had been taking up various steps to facilitate American investment in Poland for a year now.

At an evening meeting of President Walesa with Polonia, Illinois Governor Jim Edgar announced that a scholarship programme for Polish youth, to be named after Lech Walesa, will be launched by the state authorities to support the Polish reforms.

Replying to a warm welcome, President Walesa again encouraged American Poles to do business in Poland to the benefit of both sides. "Take care of the American soil, respect the U.S. leaders who understand well our problems and our needs," Walesa also said.

Late in the evening, a dinner in honour of the Polish president attended by the Illinois governor and governors from the neighbouring states was given in the Polish Consulate General in Chicago.

Foreign Minister Views 'Successful' U.S. Visit

LD2303164191 Warsaw PAP in English 1533 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who accompanied President Lech Walesa during the official part of his visit to the United States, told newsmen upon his arrival in Warsaw today that the visit was successful.

"It contributed to the development of Polish-American relations and opened a new stage of close cooperation and partnership in various domains, politics included," the minister said.

Commentary Views Goals of Walesa Visit to U.S.

AU2203135691 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 19 Mar 91 p 1

['PZ'-signed commentary: "America-Bound"]

[Text] Contrary to what some people have written and others may be thinking, the Polish president's visit to the United States is not case of "the poor relation visiting his wealthy cousin." Lech Walesa refuted this allegation in his interview for THE WASHINGTON POST, where he said: "We are not on a begging mission. The truth of the matter is that we want to expand cooperation, but the revolution that we are piloting just has to succeed, both economically and politically."

The fundamental objective of the visit is to enhance the mutual relationship that began a new phase in 1989. Let us be frank and objective about the following. The reduction of our foreign debt by the recent Paris Club meeting is in a large measure due to American support, influence, and America's understanding of this issue. It undoubtedly reflects a new quality in our relationship. Reinforcement and protection of the results of our bilateral cooperation is just as important now as our future mutual development. "We want to express our thanks to the United States for its cooperation to date and to convey our thinking on the future," said Lech Walesa to a USA TODAY reporter.

The Polish-American declaration that is due to be signed by both presidents, will fix the parameters and flag the directions for future cooperation. It will also be an expression of American support for Poland's reforms.

and will set out rules for mutual action on the international arena. Being a general document, however, it will not formalize any alliance, nor can it possibly be interpreted in this way.

The mere fact that the development of our political cooperation with the United States has significantly converged our separate positions on many international matters, for example, the Gulf crisis, should not be considered to be an indication of the Polish side's complete satisfaction with the progress made to date. Poland wants—I think quite rightly—an American policy toward Poland that is—seen from the American perspective—a fully independent policy and not just a constituent part of American policy toward the USSR, or any other strong European state, for example, the FRG. Bearing in mind Poland's geostrategic place and its possibilities of exerting some influence on the state of European security, the matter of upgrading American policy toward Poland would seem to be particularly necessary, given the present circumstances, but we should also be striving to play our part to ensure that this does indeed happen. The present visit must have this as one of its objectives.

Many people in Poland hold the view that the declared American support has a mainly moral element, because morality costs next to nothing, compared to specific and quantifiable promises. This particularly applies to the economic sphere, where the level of American business input is much lower than previously anticipated. To be fair, the Americans are not on their own here, the same hesitancy is being shown by most of the Western world's leading countries. We want to change this state of affairs. Surely it shows our healthy attitude that we would like to begin with the leading Western power. Our present-day and future desire is to be in a position to point to quantifiable results of Polish-American cooperation in as many spheres as possible. A discussion of this issue at the highest state level will surely be the most important factor of the present visit. Even if this was to be the visit's only positive outcome, the visit would have been necessary and worthwhile. Expanding cooperation is not the same thing as wanting a free handout, or presenting somebody with an extravagant shopping list, as some people think, but normal international practice. It is high time that this became the pervading rule in Polish-American relations. We hope that the present visit will play its part in achieving this objective, all the more so as this is is the first time in Polish-American relations that a Polish president is paying a visit to the United States.

FRG Rejection of Debt Reduction Appeal Noted

LD2203170391 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1615 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] The FRG Government has rejected President Bush's appeal on the 70-percent reduction of the Polish debt. The Germans will stick to the Paris Club arrangements—that is, to a 50 percent reduction.

Financial Official on Cancellation of Debts

AU2203134891 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Mar 91 pp 1,4

[Interview with Janusz Sawicki, vice minister of finance and government plenipotentiary for debts, by Malgorzata Pokojska; place and date not given: "Reductions Will Not Replace Reforms"]

[Excerpts] [Pokojska] Are you pleased with the results of the talks with the Paris Club?

[Sawicki] I think that was the best possible solution under the present circumstances.

[Pokojska] What do you mean?

[Sawicki] I mean that Poland is not the only country experiencing economic difficulties right now. Our Paris Club creditors treated us on an exceptional basis, as a token of recognition for Poland's achievements with its reforms.

[Pokojska] But the group of negotiators which you led wanted an 80 percent reduction in debts, but only achieved a 50 percent reduction. Instead of a $26 billion reduction in debts, we have a $17 billion reduction. That makes a difference.

[Sawicki] It was important for us that the Paris Club creditors agree to an 80 percent relaxation of the burden servicing our debts (repayments of the capital sum plus interest), and that is what we have achieved in the initial stage.

[Pokojska] Yes, but only for three years.

[Sawicki] One should realize that our debts increased from year to year because of the unpaid capital sum and interest. Now, by repaying to the Paris Club 20 percent of our debts over three years, the total amount of our debts to the Club will fall by 30 percent.

[Pokojska] It is not difficult to calculate that if these repayments took place over 10 years instead of three years, we would repay 80 percent of our debts.

[Sawicki] But in negotiations one has to accept the assessments of the other side, and in this case the other side has assessed Poland's needs. As recently as six weeks ago, the Paris Club only wanted a 30 to 35 percent reduction of our debts. Therefore we can consider a 50 percent reduction a success. [passage omitted]

[Pokojska] When can one expect an agreement with the London Club?

[Sawicki] Last year we tried to persuade banks to hold talks, but they refused. They preferred to wait for a reaction from the Paris Club, and kept repeating that a start on talks depends on a repayment of part of the interest on our debts. At last, a decision to start the talks was made in Basel in February, and was confirmed by the chairman of the London Club at the latest meeting of

the Paris Club a few days ago. I am sure that once the agreement with the Paris Club has been signed, the talks with the banks will proceed quickly.

[Pokojska] Will it be suggested to the banks that shares in privatized enterprises be offered in lieu of debt repayments?

[Sawicki] Yes, that is an old idea, but converting our debts to shares will only be possible after the signing of a comprehensive agreement with the London Club. Special rules for this are required in Poland, as well as the Sejm's concurrence. So it will take longer than a mere few months.

Sejm Passes Law Opening Path to Stock Exchange

LD2203160691 Warsaw PAP in English 1535 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The Sejm (lower house) today passed the law on the turnover of securities and funds of trustees which in practice opens the road to set up a stock echange in Poland. The law with amendments was passed with 269 votes for, two against and seven abstentions.

On the whole, amendments to the law do not restrict the rights of the securities' commission but the Sejm adopted a minority motion under which members of the supervisory board of a joint stock company in charge of the funds of trustees will be elected and dismissed by the shareholders' assembly and not by the securities' commission.

Under another amendment, a legal or natural person cannot run more than one brokerage.

Factory Strikes Over Cut in Exports to USSR

AU2203140091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Mar 91 p 2

[Marian Strzelecki report]

[Text] The "Ponar" mechanical equipment plant in Ostrzeszow has been on strike since 1 March. Talks last week at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, attended by representatives of other ministries, failed to resolve the strike. The entire workforce of 1,630 people is idle.

The direct cause of the strike is the collapse of exports to the Soviet Union, which was the recipient of almost 90 percent of the electromagnetic clutches manufactured by "Ponar." "The workers, terrified by the prospect of bankruptcy, will continue to strike," says Kazmimierz Obsadny, chairman of the "Ponar" strike committee. "Government help is essential. Exports of our products have fallen because of the government's policies. It is not the factory's fault. Reorganizing the restructuring the factory will not help much."

If no favorable solution is found before 25 March, an interfactory strike committee will be set up. "This idea has the support of 35 plants in various voivodships," Obsadny claims.

But what if the strike leads to the factory's closure? The reply from "Ponar": Then we will stage a sit-in strike.

Drivers Asked To Understand Farmers' Blockade

LD2203122991 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1002 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] A Three-Hour-Long Blockage on the Roads—that is the title from today's issue of RZECZPOSPOLITA. It is, of course, writing about the blockade. Whoever travels today or has already started on a journey must take into account the fact that he will spend time waiting. He will encounter farmers' tractors en route, which will make further progress impossible. In association with this protest action by the farmers, the minister of agriculture and food economy has unilaterally borken off the talks today with the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations, earlier agreed to be held today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] In Olsztyn voivodship, the appeal and call of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers Solidarity to all farmers and agricultural workers, irrespective of their organizational or union allegiance, to take pat in the blockade of roads today has been treated very seriously. In association with this, not only have the tractors of individual farmes rolled onto the roads but so has the machinery of agriculutural circles and state farm machinery. The roads of the voivodship are blocked in at least 50 places. Here are representatives of the locally created Warmia-Mazury Farmers' Protest Committee, Aleksander Bochenski and Wlodzimierz Sumara:

[First speaker] After two years of experience—because we have been struggling with various systems and for different things—I have the impression that for the farmer to go out onto the roads a truly extreme situation is required.

[Second speaker] We address this request to all citizens in our voivodship, and indirectly to those across the whole country, for them to approach this action with understanding. We do not want them to feel that farmers are protesting against them. We are quite simply protesting the agricultural policy of the government that is leading up a blind alley. Our only gain from this monstrous crisis into which we have been herded at the moment is the eventual consolidation of forces. I request that all blockades be withdrawn punctually at 1400.

[Reporter] Around 50 sections of road in the Kielce region have already been blockaded by farmers, including all the access roads to Kielce and national route No. 7, from Krakow to Warsaw. This is what Jan Pustula, a farmer from the parish of Lagow who is also the chairman of the peasants' protest, had to say:

[Pustula] The coordinator of a strike has the obligation to let the ambulance service and the fire service through. Even if someone posseses a airline ticket that is for a certain hour only and he shows this ticket, then we will not stop him, and we will let him through. People who have a justified reason to accelerate their journey will be allowed through. The strike committee in Lagow asks all drivers for understanding for the farmers, to maintain calm and to line up, to make the flow of traffic possible during and after this blockade so everyone is able to smoothly get back into the flow of traffic, as is appropriate for civilized people.

[Reporter] We must approach the action with understanding. I believe that this probaby cannot be guaranteed. I recall a similar protest action from the summer of last year. The drivers who were stuck in these blockades were saying things completely unsuitable for transmission over the radio, using undiplomatic language. [end recording]

No Police Intervention in Blockade

LD2203162391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1435 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In keeping with earlier announcements, farmers hve staged a nationwide protest by blocking roads with tractors and other agricultural equipment. [passage omitted] We asked Anna Obojska from the National Council of Rural Solidarity to comment on the action.

[Begin Obojska recording] [Words indistinct] because, you know our telecommunications is very bad, and people do not always have a phone nearby; however, I have information from Gdansk, for instance. There were seven blockades there, no incidents. Police and traffic police were helping the farmers. There were 35 blockades in Lomza. There, too, everything went well. There were no problems with the police but in general they were terribly frightened by all those statements by the police. They feared there would be trouble. There was however not a single incident. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] This is what Inspector Andrzej Niesioloski from Police Headquarters said:

[Begin recording] [Niesiolowski] [Word indistinct] vehicles and public transporation were allowed to pass. People going to work by buses, and even if a greater number of vehicles had gathered. They were also allowed to pass in certain cases. [passage omitted]

[Reporter Marek Kossa] Were there any cases of the police having to intervene?

[Niesiolowski] No, there was no police intervention. There was no need. [end recording]

Government 'Passiveness' Criticized

LD2203221191 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Farmers blocked roads throughout Poland for three hours today in protest against the government policy on agriculture. The operation was organized by Private Farmers' Solidarity. Only two from 49 provinces in Poland refrained from the action. Rural Solidarity leader Gabriel Janowski told the protesting farmers in Stojadla, east of Warsaw, that the blockade became necessary as the government shows passiveness in solving problems of agriculture. Farmers want the guaranteed minimum prices for farm produce, preferential credits, and the protection of their production against imports of cheaper food from the West. The organizers of the protest collected signatures under a petition they want to hand to the authorities in Warsaw saying that the domestic rural production should be given priority because the state sovereignty and security depends on that. The Transport Ministry said the road blockade violated road regulations, but the police did not intervene to remove the farmers, nor did it report any disturbances. Referring to the recent decision of the Paris Club to write off 50 percent of the Polish debt, Agriculture Minister Adam Tanski told PAP that when new possibilities for speeding up changes in the economy have opened for Poland, the protest is a particular discord. He also said that its form is unacceptable. In another development, members of various rural organizations decided on Thursday to set up a peasant forum to defend the economic sovereignty of Poland and to ensure dignified living to farmers.

FSN Convention Resolution on Nationality Problem

AU2403162691 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 19 Mar 91 p 6

[National Convention resolution of the National Salvation Front issued in Bucharest on 17 March: "Nationality Problem—Resolution"]

[Text] The National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] notes the need for the party to adopt a firm and clearly principled position on the nationality problem and interethnic relations in Romania.

The FSN intends to create a democratic political framework based on a state of law.

The nationality problem and interethnic relations are viewed within the context of guaranteeing and observing human rights in a nation state in which sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence represent basic values.

Viewing the rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities as human rights, the FSN struggles to treat, achieve, and guarantee these rights to match international standards in this respect.

Starting out from the need to respect the ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious identity of all ethnic and national minorities, the FSN firmly rejects extremism, chauvinistic nationalism, separatism, and racism, and dissociates itself from organizations and parties that promote such political options.

The FSN affirms that human dignity represents the supreme value for the world that we want to build. In this context, it does not tolerate false ethnic superiority nor does it tolerate turning democratic rights of a universal nature into a source of privileges for certain groups and individuals.

Bearing in mind the importance of being constantly informed and constantly studying developments in this area, which, under the current international conditions, may threaten our very national existence, the FSN National Convention has decided to create—within the party—a Permanent Commission for Nationality Problems and Interethnic Relations.

The commission will keep the FSN leadership constantly and correctly informed and will contribute to setting up our party's strategy.

The commission will maintain contact with political institutions, organizations, and groups dealing with such issues as another form of dialogue and political opening.

Bucharest, 17 March 1991

Iliescu Sends Message to FSN Convention

AU2403163791 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Message from President Ion Iliescu to the Second National Convention of the National Salvation Front; place and date not given: "The First President of the Front"]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and guests to the Second National Convention of the National Salvation Front: In my position of former president of the National Salvation Front [FSN] and of its candidate to the presidency, I would like to convey warmest wishes for success to the proceedings of the National Convention.

As the ruling political force with a majority and a historic mission to support—within the framework of a state of law—the program for society's economic, social, political, and moral renewal, the FSN has to be up to the great responsibilities it has assumed toward the electorate and the whole nation. In this sense, the proceedings of the National Convention are of particular significance for laying the foundation—through the active and unhampered contribution of all delegates within an exemplary democratic framework—of a platform for common action designed to dynamize the Front's activity, its presence in our country's political arena, and its capability to constructively cooperate with other political forces, trade unions, associations, and professional groups, that are interested in strengthening democratic changes and in implementing the economic reform as a basis for our country's economic and cultural progress.

The tremendous difficulties we are facing in this process can be overcome only through common efforts, capitalizing on the potential available in our country, and on the openings offered by the community of developed democratic countries, which are prepared to help and assist us in our reform.

Our citizens' hope to renew the country and their aspirations for a decent life in freedom have to be supported and confirmed by the proceedings and decisions of the FSN National Convention, which is awaited with interest by the entire public.

Ion Iliescu, president of Romania

Brucan Sums Up FSN National Convention

AU2403150891 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 19 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Silviu Brucan article: "FSN—A Political Party"]

[Text] The Romanian public has looked forward to the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] with keen interest. People wanted to see whether the first political event of the new party marked a break with the past or whether it would be just a revised and

integral edition of the Communist Party of sad recollection. The two trends were felt already during the preparatory period for the convention because of the fierce struggle (that was supposed to be hidden, but which broke out violently because of the ambitions of those involved in the game) between the reforming "young Turks," who are aware that the party needs a new face, and the Martian, Barladeanu, and Stefan-Gheorghe group from the Cotroceni Hill, which is desperately clinging to the positions of the nomenklatura.

The reformers won, but as everywhere and in all parties the imperative of preserving unity left its mark on the party's new leadership bodies. But this is part and parcel of the multiparty political system and we have to start getting used to its customs and traditional rites. The activity of any party in a pluralist system is regulated by a compromise between principles and preserving unity, something that is constantly reactivated by the pitiless requirements of electoral confrontations.

The congresses of the Communist Party invariably opened with a marathon speech by the secretary general (five hours or more) after which the oath had to be taken by all speakers, who surpassed each other in their acts of submission expressed by a range of superlatives—from historic to ingenious—interrupted only by loud applause and stormy ovations. Well, there was no such thing at the FSN Convention. Its political leader submitted a motion for discussion and the most remarkable fact was that this procedure permitted the speakers to voice their opinions without hesitations and restrictions—a genuine revolution in Romania's party activity. The species of people who used to praise has not completely disappeared; however, their words sounded rather like embarrassing whining.

I cannot say that the discussions were particularly elevated. As a matter of fact, neither the motion nor the speeches by the leaders encouraged such a thing, although they could have made somewhat more attractive contributions. This leads to the pessimistic remark that the demands of the participants in the hall did not force them to be more competitive, either.

Improvisation dominated political rhetoric, while the scarcity of ideas faithfully reflected the scarcity of what was available. At this point I should stress that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had the bad idea to organize a 10-day tour for Mr. Petre Roman to Latin American countries right before the Convention. Thus he arrived at the Convention together with the delegations from the provinces; this was noticeable, because when the cat's away, the mice (with political ambitions) will play. Even during the hot days of the revolution "thirst for power" took hold of some minds and souls. The first echelon included our admirable and courageous people of December, who thought that their heroic struggle in the street should have projected them directly to the helm of the state, without realizing that the merits and qualities of a good leader of street struggles are not the same as those of a good statesman. Although their appearances on television or at the Provisional National Unity Council strikingly revealed this fundamental distinction, today they are still shouting that "their revolution was confiscated" (meaning power). Then the second echelon followed (the post-December people), who, identifying the existence of a provisional state and confusion, arrived at the conclusion that the time had come (now or never) to take the levers of power by assault. Now the third echelon is coming, the one that in the meantime distinguished itself against a somewhat empty background; these people feel instinctively that the more time passes the smaller the chances are for mediocre people to get to the top of the pyramid. People from the three echelons have voiced their claims at the FSN Convention. As a result, the division at the ideological level between the so-called "leftists" and "centrists" was overshadowed by the struggle of those aspiring to power aimed at organizing groups of supporters. In this context, Mr. N.S. Dumitru produced nothing but a melancholic "sociological-ethnographic-psychological" and... administrative thesis, to mention the immortal Caragiale [Romanian playwright].

The Convention defined the Front as a center-leftist party of a social-democratic ideological leaning; however, today's social democracy is an extensive movement and is quite heterogeneous so it generates conflicts between ideas within itself. Above all, social democracy in rich countries, where there is a substantial surplus to finance the measures for social security characteristic of the "Welfare State," is one thing. Social democracy is a completely different thing in poor countries, which often blame Western countries for living a comfortable life at the expense of poor countries. FSN ideology, therefore, still needs to be thought over.

As far as the democratic structure of the new party is concerned, it is worth mentioning the provision in the Statute that tries to seek a balance between discipline (the obligation for all members to accept the Program-Platform, Statute, and decisions of the party) and tolerance (freedom of opinion and the right to the existence of minority options are admitted within the party). In this sense those who support a break with the past have achieved a political victory of national importance, because the hard-line monolithism, which the opposition parties also inherited, has led to tragic splits in some of them.

As far as the Front's leadership is concerned, we can note a positive innovation. Given that the national leader of the FSN is also the chief of government (like in many Western countries), a task that requires all his energy and attention, the position of executive president has been created; he is to deal with the party's entire internal activity. Apart from this, he will ensure the links and communication between the party, the FSN parliamentary group, and the members of the FSN government, which were rather squeaky of late. The election as executive president of Mr. Aurel Stoica, the man with the image of an "honest Transylvanian," is probably

designed to counteract the compromising phenomena of corruption within the FSN, which are increasing at a geometric ratio.

Finally, another group that was conspicuous at the Convention was the regional activists, who bear the burden of the work in the field with the masses and who are faced—every single day—with critical reactions, protests, and complaints by those who voted for the Front and are now disappointed. I have noticed that these people feel they are disregarded or neglected. They are the most precious human capital of a mass party. These are the people who paid their transportation costs and their hotel bill because they wanted, by all means, to participate in the Convention. They are people who have remained faithful to the ideals of the Front of December '89. I was shocked to hear them talk about the government and National Assembly members as "they," a distinctive group that looks upon "us," the grassroots, with contempt.

The first serious test after the convention is 1 April—the second stage of price liberalization, which should not be viewed as an isolated bureaucratic move by the government, as was the case with the first stage, but as a political move in which the party participates, together with the government. Certainly, the second stage has to be prepared thoroughly, not in a hasty way like the first one, because, if the results this spring are as bad as those in the fall, all the motions, speeches, and innovations of the convention will not be able to spare the Front a great political failure.

Dijmarescu: No 'Split,' Differences in Government

AU2403142891 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] In a statement made to our radio station, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, member of the Executive Bureau of the government, referred to the recent applications by some ministers to be relieved of their positions, which, as is known, have been rejected by the prime minister. Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu emphasized that these applications by no means signify a split within the government or differences of opinion in connection with the road on which we have embarked or the rate at which the reform is being applied. He added that the critical remarks that have been made about the existence within the executive bodies of a so-called radical, nonradical, moderate, or more leftist wing lack any basis.

In connection with the government's future actions, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu stressed that the executive bodies are currently dealing with finalizing the draft law on the privatization of large state enterprises. Another aspect of the activity is dealing with broadening and expanding the banking system, its tasks and functions, and the number of banks in the economy, including the recently created Export-Import Bank, which will permit activation of the function of money and of credits in the economy.

The government is also prepared, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu added, to launch new financial instruments in the payment system between enterprises, so as to fully eliminate any deadlock in the payment system between enterprises.

Replacement of FSN Leader in Parliament Viewed

AU2403165591 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 18/19 Mar 91 p 2

[Editorial note: "The Prime Minister Confirms—An 'Indication' of 'Freedom'"]

[Text] Asked to define his position in connection with removing Mr. Liviu Muresan from his position of FSN majority leader in Parliament, Prime Minister Petre Roman said the following during a brief news conference on Saturday [16 March] between two rounds of the FSN National Convention proceedings: I think this was the result of certain debates in the parliamentary group—I myself was present at some of them—debates that were linked to an objective situation. The parliamentary group is made up of 260 people, thus it is a very big group, and it is difficult to work with so many people. In such a case it depends very much on the talent and effectiveness of the leader to be able to maintain cohesive action within such a group. Starting from this situation, the desire may have arisen to replace Liviu Muresan for the simple reason that he is involved in other political efforts by the Front. Therefore, someone is needed who, so to say, is more often present among the ranks of the parliamentarians. I personally—without questioning Mr. Albu's capability, which for lack of time I have not put to the test so far—think that Liviu Muresan was a good FSN majority leader.

New FSN Parliamentary Group Leader Interviewed

AU2203203791 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 15 Mar 91 pp 1,4

[Interview with Alexandru Albu, new leader of the National Salvation Front Parliamentary Group in the Deputies' Assembly, by Razvan Mitroi; place and date not given: "It Is a Continuation of the Same Position and Not a Change of Orientation"]

[Excerpts] [Mitroi] Mr. Albu, your election to the position as the new leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentary group gives the impression that the government party is split in two "wings": conservatives and the reformists.

[Albu] As you have learned from the communique that has been issued, the only reason for the replacement (through a secret vote) is due to pragmatic reasoning—namely, thusly to give Mr. Liviu Muresan (the former leader) time to concentrate on the complex activity that his participation in the Council of Europe meetings involves.

[Mitroi] Did you talk with Mr. Liviu Muresan after your election? I am thinking of a discussion on principles regarding the position of a leader.

[Albu] The change occurred on Wednesday [13 March] in the evening so I did no have time to talk with him, but in any event, there cannot be a "hand over-take over" type of meeting. It is a continuation of the same position and not a change of orientation.

[Mitroi] Let us return a little to the turmoil in your party.

[Albu] There is a certain split, but it is a normal one; it is neither populist—as some claim—nor is it elite-oriented. There is a close unity within our parliamentary group in the Deputies' Assembly. This unity has been achieved through a diversity of opinions. Currently, there is a very "fashionable" idea in the world: unity through diversity. There is a complete unity of ideas in fundamental issues regarding the final goal of the Front. As far as the methods to achieve this goal are concerned, opinions differ, but not in a radically contradictory manner. After discussions, a consensus is always achieved.

[Mitroi] How do you feel in your new position?

[Albu] I am frightened. I feel a certain tension, but not a paralyzing one, rather a mobilizing one to fulfill certain missions that are not simple at all.

[Mitroi] We know that you are a university professor at the Academy of Economic Sciences. Maybe now is the right moment to tell us a little about yourself from this point of view.

[Albu] I am a professor with the International Economic Relations Department and I was the dean of the Foreign Trade Faculty for eight years. Now, along with parliamentary activity (where I do not know how it happened that I became a member in four commissions), I lecture the International Economic Cooperation course. [passage omitted]

Stolojan Complies With Request Not To Resign

AU2203170691 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Statement by Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Certainly this moment and the road we have to travel is very difficult for our economy, particularly as far as the second stage of price liberalization is concerned; however, I cannot help but respond to certain speculations that appeared in some international—as well as in our domestic—news broadcasts. Statements were made to the effect that there are factions of various orientations in Romania's Government. I want to state with utmost determination and responsibility that it is not proper to broadcast such news—which is completely false—in connection with the Romanian Government. There is no faction in the Romanian Government, but what people who follow with great attention the activity of the Romanian Government are surprised about is probably the fact that there can be different viewpoints in the government about the way in which the economic reform or the objective of the price liberalization should be implemented. Thus, I can state that I most forcefully support the government's program of economic reform, a reform program also supported by the IMF; however, this does not mean that I cannot have a differing view about the ways in which certain objectives in this program can be achieved. And here is a very simple issue. I am the minister of finance and not the minister of social welfare in this country. I am primarily interested in efficiency, incomes, expenditures, and parameters of economic efficiency. Within this framework, certainly any stand that I take favors the emphasis—if you want, the maximum emphasis—on the measures aimed at increasing effectiveness, measures that should lead to the elimination of waste and to saving money.

As is well known, however, no decision taken within an economic reform is only an economic decision. It also has a very important social aspect. No economic reform will be able to succeed if a minimum of social support is not achieved, which facilitates its implementation. Thus, naturally, to make this dispute reach a solution which also has social support for its implementation, very strong diverging ideas might appear.

I certainly take a stance aimed at radicalizing the measures of price liberalization, which in the end will lead to a decision that—in my view—is the only one that should be applied to the current conditions in Romania. My decision to resign also takes into consideration this aspect of the problem and also the fact that the life of a finance minister is not identical with the life of other ministers in the government. It is a very tough life that starts at 0730 and continues until very late in the evening; it is a life that continues on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays, and there is this continuous pressure, certainly from all the other departments.I cannot say that they are not justified in increasing the expenses in every possible ways; however, my tasks in my capacity of finance minister is first of all to resist these increases of expenditure which are not in accordance with the possibilities of our economy. Such work is tough, which suddenly brings you to a state when you start thinking that maybe it would be better if someone else would continue this road that I am traveling currently. Certainly, after examining our requests, the prime minister asked us to stay and continue our work because during this period it is necessary that people who know thoroughly the details of the price liberalization program should ensure its implementation in the near future, as I have said it before.

I am a person who is well aware of his responsibilities, and I will answer positively the prime minister's request because what is important now for our country is to implement this program and to overcome this moment which is not easy in any of the formerly socialist countries travelling exactly the same road of transformation

that we are traveling now. The problem of prices is one of the most delicate problems of the reform.

Vatasescu Terms Resignation Nonpolitical Maneuver

AU2203171391 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Statements by Anton Vatasescu, minister of state in charge of industrial and trade activity; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Bucharest Radio asked Minister Anton Vatasescu to make a brief statement in connection with his resignation request and the answer given by the Romanian prime minister, Mr. Petre Roman, in which he asks Vatasescu to continue his activity within the government to ensure a political, economic, and financial cohesion.

[Vatasescu] I would like to say that the resignation request was not a political maneuver, and it was not meant to create a more complicated atmosphere.

I made this decision about two months ago and submitted it several times. The prime minister was aware of it but I was told every time that it was not the right moment for it because there were pressing problems, and such a decision would make the government's activity more difficult.

Thus, my resignation request was not a surprise for the prime minister and many other ministers in the government.

Certainly, probably this decision was not taken in a favorable political moment—but I believe that I told you many times that I do not consider myself a politician—taking into consideration two events that we expect in the near future—namely, the shock of 1 April, and another shock that is less known by the public, the position of the IMF regarding Romania that will be adopted in a meeting that is due to start on 5 April. From this point of view, therefore, the moment was not well chosen and the prime minister's decision was to be expected. Everything fits logically.

I also want to mention the fact that one cannot talk about two currents within the government: one Vatasescu-Stolojan current and another current including the other members of the government. Each person in the government has his own principles and his own personality and with great effort we succeed—we have succeeded so far—in presenting a unitary position to the outside; we did not do this—I must repeat—by stifling individual personalities. My motives probably differ from Mr. Stolojan's motives, and I must tell you that they are not the same as far as the liberalization is concerned. Thus, in connection with this problem it is a position that we all agreed to adopt as the best one and which we, both I and Mr. Stolojan, endorsed. Apart from this position there are certain issues that I view in a certain way and Mr. Stolojan views differently; perhaps I personally—I speak only for myself—reached some technical limits in understanding certain problems. The problems are not at all simple and they are not always easy to understand.

Thus a problem that I have not understood does not mean that is not correct or correctly applied. It is simply not understood.

Maybe my decision has also another meaning because I noticed lately that mass media, particularly the press, makes great efforts to accredit the idea, the legend, that a number of supermen can be found in the government and they are people who know everything, who do everything, and who are unreplaceable and it is impossible to imagine the government without them. This is a false idea. Nobody within the government believes himself to be omniscient. All of them have their physical and technical limits, and I would like to be the one who tries to destroy or starts destroying this legend. We personally believe that there are thousands even scores of thousands of people who are just as good as we are or maybe even better than us, who can continue leading the country.

TU Alternative To Government Program Condemned

AU2203175591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1049 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1991—Analyzing the main components of Alfa's programme, daily "AZI", National Salvation Front organ, notes, among other things: the resort, once more, to general definitions, to words with a special sound, such as: "efficient" or "fair", gives way to various interpretations, some even in a populist or Social Labor Party spirit. Anyway, the programme contains no rigorous definition, its very ambiguity as, in fact, of the whole text aiming at misleading the naive and the uninformed. The lack of realism, the utopic character of its "solutions" exclude the text from the category of political documents structured on basic scientific requirements.

The text signed by Alfa, the paper reads on, does not point to the slightest prospect of ridding Romania of communism and placing it on the road to democracy and welfare; it just borrows from communist vocabulary some populist and demagogic formulae. It is a particularly serious diversion, meant to take advantage politically of the unavoidable difficulties and social costs of the passage to a market economy. The attractive cover should deceive no one. What the "alternative" proposes is the shortest way to chaos, disorder, national disaster. And behind the fine words about democracy, prosperity and so on lie dark schemes pursuing opposite goals to those proclaimed in the emphatic and grandiloquent style of sad remembrance.

PNL-Youth Wing Presents Economic Proposals

AU2203180291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1242 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1991—I can assess that at present we are the only political party proposing an alternative to the government's economic programme, with technical solutions to problems no other party has tried to approach yet, states Calin Popescu Tariceanu, member of the Steering Committee of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT], in an interview to "TINERETUL LIBER".

The colloquitor argues his assessment with elements from the programme of the PNL-AT: organization of hard currency auctions (a proposal made before the relevant government resolution); creation of a strong private sector. "Very little has been done so far to create a truly viable private sector," stresses Mr. Calin Tariceanu noting that in the productive sphere the private sector is almost inexistent, and that the government has supported mainly the state sector which is now in a disastrous situation. The colloquitor also mentioned that the PNL-AT was one of the few political parties to have initiated a law concerning general privatisation. While the government advanced only one proposal in this respect—the law of the land—Mr. Tariceanu said, our proposal has in view the privatization of the land as a whole both inside and outside settlements, real estate and means of production, therefore a law of general privatisation. Stressing that that initiative of the PNL-AT had not been taken into consideration by parliament, Mr. Tariceanu criticized the attitude of the National Salvation Front majority showing that it indulges in being in the government's tow [as received] barring any proposal coming from the opposition.

Expressing his opinion that the transition process is dragging along and that the government should speed it up, Mr. Tariceanu said: "Were the PNL-AT to rule, one of its first actions would pursue the creation of a strong private sector which would mean both the present state property and the setting up of new private companies.

Education TU Meeting Demands Decent Conditions

AU2303170491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/3/1991—A meeting of the Education Free Trade Union Federation was held Saturday [23 March] in Bucharest in which took part delegates from almost all counties of Romania.

The meeting, under the motto "democratization, salaries, liberalization," was meant as a protest of the trade unions in the field of education against the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection and the Ministry of Finance for having so far failed to create, as they had pledged to do, proper social and professional conditions for the teaching staff's activity.

In his opening address, Mr. Victor Ciorbea, president of the National Trade Union Confederation of Romania, said that it was high time to provide decent living and working conditions for Romanian school servants. Following the debates, the participants decided to continue their vindicative actions until all union claims would be solved.

Rally Against Price Increases Held in Bucharest

AU2203211191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1991—A rally against the price thaw, against the refusal to set up a commission to investigate into the abuses of the past regime, was organized on Friday [22 March] in the Bucharest Revolution Square, by the National Union of the People Who Had Not Been Romanian Communist Party Members.

A march from the University Square, through the Romana and Victory Squares, to the Television Building had been planned after the rally, where the association leaders intended to hand over a protest, but because of the small number of participants, the column returned from the Romana Square to the University Square.

Slogans were shouted against the president, against the government and for the monarchy.

Joint Soviet Cooperation Treaty Initialed

AU2303210591 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] The Draft Treaty of Cooperation, Good Neighborliness, and Friendship between Romania and the Soviet Union was initialed in Moscow by the ministers of foreign affairs of Romania, Adrian Nastase, and of the Soviet Union, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh. This treaty is based on the provisions of the UN Charter, the Paris Charter of a new Europe, and the Helsinki Final Act.

According to a report by our special envoy to Moscow, this draft treaty reaffirms the concept on which the new architecture of security and peace in Europe is based, a concept sanctioned during the summit conference in Paris in accordance with which the participating countries view themselves as friendly states.

The treaty includes the principles according to which the two states will be guided in relations between themselves and in relations with other states as follows:

—Sovereign equality;
—Mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force;
—Inviolability of borders;
—Territorial integrity of states;
—Peaceful settlement of differences;
—Noninterference in domestic affairs;
—Observance of human rights and basic freedoms;
—Equality of rights and peoples' right to decide on their destiny;

—Cooperation in justice;

—The fulfillment, in good faith, of the obligations under the generally recognized principles and norms of international law.

Starting from the principle of nonaggression stipulated by the UN Charter and in the definition of aggression adopted by the United Nations in 1974, the treaty emphasizes that Romania and the Soviet Union will not participate in any alliance directed against each other. The two countries pledge not to tolerate the use of their territories by a third state to commit an act of aggression against the other side and not to support such a state.

The treaty expresses the determination of the two states to support the implementation of collective security measures in accordance with the UN Charter. The treaty includes clauses in connection with the holding of consultations at certain intervals between the leaders of their state, government, and parliamentary bodies on problems of mutual interest.

The two states pledge to cooperate within the CSCE to achieve disarmament, to create a durable structure of all-European security and a united European area in the economic, ecological, transportation, and legal spheres and at all levels of human activity. The treaty also includes clauses concerning cooperation in the economy, industry, trade, scientific research, environmental protection, and problems of the Black Sea and Danube, and concerning the development of transportation, telecommunications, and tourism.

The treaty is concluded for a 15-year period with the possibility of being extended. On the date when this treaty comes into force, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the two countries concluded in Bucharest on 7 July 1970 will lose its validity.

Foreign Minister Nastase Leaves for Moscow

AU2103185091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1729 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1991—Following an invitation of the Soviet Union Minister of External Affairs Aleksandr Bessmertnykh the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase left, Thursday [21 March] afternoon, for Moscow, to continue, with his Soviet counterpart, the consultations started at Budapest on 25 February, and to give the finishing touches to the treaty of cooperation, good neighborliness and amicable relations between the two countries.

Mr. Nastase will also stop over at Kiev and Chisinau [Kishinev], upon the invitation of the foreign ministers of Ukraine and Moldova, where he will have exchanges of views on Romania's cooperation with these countries.

Deputies' Assembly Speaker Leaves for Hungary

AU2103184891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1991—A Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Assembly of Deputies Speaker Dan Martian has left for Hungary to attend over 22-24 March the international symposium titled "Responsibilities Incumbent on Parliaments for Their Countries' Economic Development", sponsored by the International Foundation for the Survival and the Development of Mankind and hosted by the Hungarian parliament.

Mesic Rules Out Civil War Possibilities

LD2403130491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 24 (TANJUG)—There will by no means be a civil war in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Presidency Vice-President Stipe Mesic has said.

"Lesser or bigger politicial crises and tensions are possible, but there will be no civil war because people in Yugoslavia will not shoot at one another," said Mesic in a statement published by the Zagreb daily VJESNIK on Sunday.

He recalled that "reason has prevailed" in the Croatian town of Pakrac, where "Serbs and Croats did not want to shoot at each other."

Yugoslav Army units were sent to this predominantly Serbian-populated town to prevent possible conflicts following the entry of Croatian special police units.

Mesic—who, in keeping with the rotation principle takes over as president of the Federal Presidency on May 15—assessed that "nobody is satisfied with Yugoslavia as it is now." He said that solutions should be sought which would satisfy everybody and would not be imposed on anyone.

Mesic noted that the focus of current negotiations on Yugoslavia's future has been shifted from the presidency to the presidents of the republics, which, in his view, marks "a step forward in the negotiations."

Presidency Session Considers Economic Draft

LD2103193791 Belgrade TANJUG Dometic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Today in Belgrade, a session of the SFRY Presidency chaired by President Borisav Jovic was held. The session was attended by the president of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council president, and presidents of the republican and provincial presidencies.

Apart from the continuing discussion on the country's political future, today's expanded session has considered common economic functions of the future Yugoslav community.

Before proceeding with the agenda, the session took note of current issues that will be discussed at future sessions of the SFRY Presidency.

A draft outlined by a team of experts served as the basis for the discussion on common economic functions. The draft proposes the following:

1. The basic economic interest for the creation of a Yugoslav community (federation, confederation, etc.) is to secure a common market. A common interest is to join the Common Market [EEC]. A common interest is also to join European integration processes, as a result of which republics—as members of the Yugoslav community—will gradually harmonize elements of the common market with norms and standards of the European Community.

2. The area of the Yugoslav community constitutes a common market in which the flow of goods, services, capital, and labor is free. Discrimination against citizens of different republic-members of the Yugoslav community is forbidden in respect to employment, pay, and other conditions of work.

3. All forms of ownership are equal and have equal status as far as the conditions of economic activity and legal protection are concerned.

4. It is open for everyone to set up enterprises and branches, and their activity will be treated equally throughout the community.

5. Between the members of the Yugoslav community there are no customs [charges], and with third states there is a uniform, common customs regime.

6. There can be a common development policy in particular areas. It includes regional development policy, with particular emphasis on the economically underdeveloped regions, on the principles of the policy of the EC.

7. In particular, considering the present circumstances, there will be a common but very stimulative policy of investment of foreign capital that includes, if necessary, solid guarantees of the member states or Yugoslav community as a whole.

8. Policy is coordinated in the Yugoslav community in the areas of transport, communications, energy, and agriculture, and technical and technological systems in the areas of transport, communications, and energy are also coordinated.

9. In the area of the Yugoslav community there is no one common currency and one central issuing bank. This common currency will be more closely tied to the ECU [European Currency Unit]. In accordance with this and with the present possibilities, international payment transactions will be tied to this monetary unit, and the stability of the dinar in the long term will be maintained according to the rules of the European Monetary System (EMS), that is, to the rules of tomorrow's European Monetary Union (EMU).

10. For the area of the Yugoslav community a single monetary banking, foreign currency, foreign trade, customs, and foreign credit relations system is established. In the common area there is a single monetary, foreign currency, foreign trade, customs, and foreign credit relations policy. The taxation system is based on uniform foundations. On all these issues, in principle, decisions are made on the basis of the agreement of the members of the Yugoslav community.

In connection with Articles 9 and 10, an alternative concept proposes that each member-state has its own currency, but that they can also have a common clearing currency.

Common territories of members of the Yugoslav community constitute a customs union, a common market, a monetary union, and will provide conditions for harmonizing with European standards in line with proposed variants in the Slovene-Croatian model of confederation.

At the session, a discussion was conducted about a further advancement of proposed solutions regarding credit relations with foreign countries, payment operations, and solidarity [as received]. New suggestions were made regarding solutions concerning the monetary system and the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Deciding on alternative concepts, including the fresh proposals, depends on previous decisions about the quality of the future Yugoslav community, i.e. whether it will be a sovereign federal state or an alliance of sovereign states.

To intensify and ease further work of future expanded sessions of the SFRY Presidency, which will continue to consider other issues concerning a common platform on the future Yugoslav community, it was agreed that a meeting between republican presidents—who will try to resolve the most delicate open issues—is to be held next week. It was concluded that, following this meeting, the SFRY Presidency is to prepare a report for the SFRY Assembly about activities and results of today's work on establishing a common platform on the future Yugoslav community.

Federal Chamber Adopts Spending Law

LD2003231091 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia's bi-cameral Federal Assembly today adopted a law temporarily reducing spending in Yugoslavia from about 40 to 34 per cent of the country's social product.

This is one of the most important laws which meets a condition set by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the conclusion of a new stand-by arrangement.

The government today also proposed for adoption another ten laws, representing a necessary minimum for the functioning of the country until final accord is reached on its new organization, and described by Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zivko Pregl as preconditions for a positive outcome of negotiations with the IMF and other international financial institutions.

The common stand of these institutions, Pregl said in an address to the assembly, is that in order to conclude a new agreement we must secure regular funding for the Federal budget for this year and provide for an efficient monetary policy and realistic personal and public spending. In that case, Yugoslavia can count on about 4.3 billion dollars' worth of additional foreign funds, without which we would be unable to resolve our economic problems, he said.

The federal chamber was also told today that another important instrument in solving the Yugoslav crisis was a multi-party Federal parliament.

The Yugoslav Assembly is now made up of deputies elected before last year's first post-war multi-party elections in all Yugoslav republics.

The Assembly's federal chamber also formed a commission to inquire into the responsibility competent federal authorities or officials might bear for illegal imports of firearms into Yugoslavia.

The agenda of the next session of the federal chamber will be the country's constitutional and political crisis. Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic will inform deputies about the capability of the organs of the federation to carry out their duties and to make possible conditions for a peaceful process of negotiations on the country's future.

Republican Laws That Obstruct Reforms Viewed

LD2103183991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today informed the Federal parliament about laws which are being adopted in some Yugoslav republics, which encroach upon the international legal status of the Federal state and obstruct the realization of the economic reforms.

The information presented to the Assembly by the Federal Government said that these laws had caused a "blockade and suspension of the functions of the Federation such as the protection of an integral market, national [word indistinct], foreign affairs, state security and the financing of the Federation."

Stressing that this was all leading to a total disintegration of the country's constitutional and legal system, the government said it had asked the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to assess the constitutionality of the said laws.

The government listed among laws which violated the superiority of the federal Constitution and laws over republican ones the resolution of the Republic of Slovenia on the disunification of Yugoslavia, the resolution under which the republic of Croatia accepts the disunification procedure, and the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia.

The government also said it had asked the Constitutional Court to evaluate the constitutionality of an amendment in Slovenia and the constitutional law of Croatia under which all federal laws are declared null and void in the two republics if they differ from republican laws.

The government also said Croatia's constitutional law removed part of the authority held by the Yugoslav Presidency as the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

Given that the instruments which are at the disposal of the government are insufficient to ensure the implementation of rulings of the Constitutional Court, the government proposed amendments to the law on the operation of the federal organs under which failure to obey decisions by the court would be treated as a criminal act.

This proposal will come under review in the Federal Assembly in about ten days' time.

Tudjman on Federal Presidency Session

LD2103205291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman announced at a news conference this evening, upon return from the SFRY Presidency session in Belgrade, that Croatia would be the host next week of a meeting of the six presidents, i.e. the presidents of the presidencies of the Yugoslavia republics.

This means, noted Tudjman during a 30-minute news conference in Zagreb, "recognizing the fact that the republics are the exponents of sovereignty" and that "the way out of the state and political crisis, as well as the future order on this soil, should be sought through an agreement between them."

All the other republics will host such talks over the next few weeks.

We have transferred the main point of the discussion onto the republican presidents on condition that we keep the SFRY Presidency, the republican legislatures, and the Federal Assembly informed of the progress of the talks, stressed Tudjman.

Tudjman and the vice chairman of the SFRY Presidency assessed today's talks in Belgrade as very open and substantial, though there were attempts to bypass fundamental problems, and the tone of the discussion as "quite tolerable and conciliatory"—although all the issues remained open. They assessed today's talks in Belgrade as a step forward in negotiations, and future "bilateral" contacts between the top republican representatives have been agreed in addition to presidential "summits."

Tudjman and [SFRY Presidency Vice President] Stipe Mesic also stressed that they had raised the issue in the SFRY Presidency: How is it possible that in peace-time conditions the armed forces' headquarters of the Supreme Command could make announcements when such a body should not even exist in peace time? A reply to the question—who formed and "carried out war moblization" of such a body and when—was not given at today's session of the Presidency though the public is expecting it.

Replying to the question about the replacement of a member of the SFRY Presidency from Kosovo, Tudjman said that Riza Sapundziju is a proper member of the Presidency and as far as Croatia is concerned it favors "democratic principles and respect for human rights," however, "this is a problem within the framework of the Republic of Serbia and we cannot interfere," Tudjman concluded, adding that "this issue should be settled between the SFRY Presidency and Serbia."

Croatia To Reduce Federal Budget Contribution

LD2203110791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croation Assembly today decided that Croatia will finance an agreed minimum of common expenditures at the federal level by way of republican quota payments.

The Croatian government's positions, adopted today by the assembly deputies, urge that until a final agreement on the country's new order is reached, only the following common expenditures are to be financed at the federal level: The Yugoslav People's Army, but at a considerably lower level than envisioned by the federal budget; war veterans' and invalids' protection payments; and the work of federal administrative bodies. All other expenditures and policies, including economic intervention, social welfare, and the financial recovery of banks, should be determined by republics.

All revenues from the turnover tax collected on the territory of the Republic of Croatia will go into the republican budget as a source of income.

Croatia is not in a position this year to contribute to the undeveloped Republic and Province of Kosovo more than it did last year. The development of undeveloped regions can be, from the point of view of the Croatian government, stimulated only through investment in these areas on the basis of ownership relations and the principle of economy of shareholders.

The reduced level of financing the federal budget and the transition to a republican quota system of payment must be accompanied by work on establishing who owes whom how much to settle all accounts between republics and provinces and to divide common assets currently belonging to the federation, and to divide financial assets and obligations, a discussion about the Croatian government's positions concluded.

Knin Leader Says Croatian Law Invalid

LD2103181491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The law enabling the dissolution of municipal assemblies and local governments if they refuse to implement decisions of the Croatian Assembly and government, does not apply to "the autonomous region of Krajina," Knin Municipality President Milan Babic stated at a press conference today.

"We are territorially, politically and legally separated," which does not mean that all doors are closed for talks, Babic explained. Asked how he will receive emissaries of the Croatian government when they eventually arrive,

Babic said that "they, as private individuals, will be received well and, as officials of the Croatian government, they will be turned back."

Asked to comment on Vuk Draskovic's statement that the proclamation of "Krajina" as an autonomous and constitutive part of a federal Yugoslavia was a dangerous act, Babic said that "Draskovic is power-hungry and ambitious and it would be better for him to go back to his writing. He cannot lead the Serbian Renaissance Movement, and we want to know whether he voiced his own stand or a party stand. He is working against the Serbian people. He pushed Serbs against Serbs and it is high time he quit political life."

Babic was also asked to assess events in Belgrade. This hurt us, Babic said, stressing that "groups that lost elections tried to win power in a destructive fashion and by force. This is irreconcileable with democracy," Babic concluded.

Croatian Ministry Denies Military Movements

LD2303225291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] According to HINA [Croatian News Agency] last night members of the self-designed secretariat for internal affairs of so-called Krajina declared the highest possible state of alert. The reason for such arbitrary and illegal behavior was misinformation that had been spread in the municipalities of Obrovac, Benkovac, and Gracac that four personnel carriers of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] had been sent from Gospic toward Mt. Velebit to attack these areas.

An official MUP representative strongly refuted such news, labelling it barefaced lies, and assessing it as yet another attempt by greater Serbian extremists and criminals to cause panic among the population.

HINA has connected the spreading of such rumors with certain letters of warning that have been received, by some individuals and institutions in Croatia, that Serbian extremists in Serbia are planning terrorist actions, including assassinations of respectable Serbs in Croatia, to cause incidents, unrest, and intervention by the Yugoslav People's Army.

The official MUP representative was not, as he put it, for operational reasons in a position to comment on these crude threats, and stated for HINA that the MUP, in accordance with the policy led by the Croatian president, the Croatian Assembly, and the Croatian government, is working, within the framework of its legal power, on the peaceful resolution of security problems.

Croatia Passes Law on Dissident Municipalities

LD2103193591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian government is empowered to dissolve municipal assemblies and their executive councils and to appoint administrators in their place. All three chambers of the Croatian Assembly today endorsed the law on the supplement to the law on government that foresees this happening when "municipal assemblies breach Croatian law and constitution by their decisions and actions." [passage omitted]

The law, which is known as "the Knin law" among deputies of the Croatian Assembly, foresees that the government will dissolve a municipal assembly if it refuses to implement decisions of the Constitutional Court of Croatia, if it makes decisions or acts in a way that would alter by force the territorial units not planned by the Croatian constitution, if it unconstitutionally recalls or dismisses the president of a municipal assembly, if a municipal assembly votes against decisions or resolutions of the Croatian Assembly, or if it undertakes any other unlawful or unconstitutional action.

When the government dissolves a municipal assembly and its executive council, it will appoint "an administrator," who will have the authority of the Croatian Assembly. The administrator is directly responsible to the Croatian government and he himself will appoint his assistants. [passage omitted]

Kucan Says Presidency Session 'Useful'

LD2103234891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2144 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The expanded session of the SFRY Presidency was useful and necessary, Republic of Slovenia President Milan Kucan said at a news conference this evening.

The debate has finally shifted to the area of so-called common interests that the republics are to establish, Kucan explained, and this should make the adoption of a decision on the character of the future community easier. Kucan, however, stressed several times that the question remains open as to whether this will be one federal state with republics having international legal subjectivity; or a community of republics as sovereign states; or, indeed, the democratic disbandment of the present SFRY. It appeared that the differences are small, but even at the starting point it is not clear who is the constitutive subject of this possible future community. According to Kucan, there was insistance that the possible common functions of the Yugoslav community should be stated first of all, regardless of the clear definition of the character of such a community and regardless of its constitutive subject.

Kucan also said that the possible functions in a community cannot be discussed without them being related to their subjects and with the form of state organization of such a community.

Kucan assessed that today for the first time a debate was begun on a possible framework of common interests, and that naturally the quality and content of the proposed functions can only be assessed when the question has been answered of what is to be the quality of this future community. [sentence as received]

This initial reticence and in a way reluctance to confront the real problems, Kucan said, was seen even more in connection with the proposed common functions in the international sphere, but there was not any discussion of that today.

According to Kucan, the most encouraging thing about today's session was that agreement was arrived at between the presidents that—because of the responsibility they bear for resolving the Yugoslav political crisis—they should attend a series of joint meetings. The first is to be held next Thursday [28 March] in Dubrovnik, and will be followed by meetings in all republics.

Kucan assessed in conclusion that the session, for the first time in a long while, ended peacefully, in a tolerant atmosphere, although there remained open a number of particularly current political questions, including relations within the Presidency itself.

Slovene President Views Belgrade Crisis

AU2103130491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Mar 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Laszlo Rab; in Ljubljana, on 18 March: "The Future of Yugoslavia Is at Stake"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] There is calm in Slovenia, the westernmost republic of Yugoslavia, but Slovenia is also concerned about events in Belgrade. Milan Kucan received our correspondent in his office and answered NEPSZABADSAG's questions.

[Rab] Mr. President! How did Slovenia react to the events in Belgrade, and how does Slovenia view the huge crisis in Yugoslavia?

[Kucan] I do not know whether the current crisis is the last one in the Yugoslav federation. One could, however, predict this crisis. It is true that we expected the crisis to come around 15 May, because a new federal president was due to replace [SFRY Presidency President Borisav] Jovic around this date. Now that events have accelerated, we think that Serbia is not ready for real changes, although the future of Yugoslavia is at stake here. As I see it, Serbia wants to preserve the decades-old advantages provided to it by the federative state, and Serbia is doing this by relying on the Army.

[Rab] How will the change in Belgrade affect Slovenia's independence?

[Kucan] The Slovene decision, and the referendum in December had their historic antecedents. Slovenia's will is final in a certain sense: Slovenia will be sovereign, irrespective of the events in Belgrade. Our intention continues to be the same: We want to create a Yugoslav federation made up of independent states, following the logic and rules of the EEC. The internal events in Serbia will not change the Slovene and Croatian efforts essentially. On the contrary! The changes might strengthen the development of a new type of community. It is true that the current Serbian leadership is distancing itself from our Yugoslavia model. Their idea that every smaller nation should be assimilated in the large Serbian nation is groundless. We cannot live in a state like today's Yugoslavia and, therefore, we are accepting the risk of an independent statehood.

[Rab] Do you fear any military steps?

[Kucan] The Yugoslav Army emerged and functioned as a political-ideological army, and it played an important role in the liberation of Yugoslavia; however, to this very day, the Army wanted to preserve its political-ideological positions, and it does not [want] to give up its direct engagement in politics. The Yugoslavia model, represented by the Army, is still based on the principles of "real socialism." This model is highly centralized, so the Army can force its will on the member republics. Everyone fears a state of emergency because, in this case, the Army is authorized to take special measures. This is a real danger. In my opinion, the Army is clearly seeking reasons to interfere; besides, it is not particularly difficult to refer to tensions in Yugoslavia.

We think that every republic should be responsible for order and peace. Legality should not be ensured by the federal Army because this could lead to an increasingly frequent forced implementation of interests above those of individual republics.

Slovene Assembly Supports National Defense Law

LD2203154891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Slovene Assembly Commission for National Defense has supported by a majority of votes the draft law on national defense and protection, under which the republic is assuming jurisdiction over this area. The proposal, it was said at the session, took into consideration most comments made in previous discussions and therefore the law received support.

Commission member Colonel Milan Aksentijevic, however, did not desist in his criticism of the text of the law. At today's session he did not repeat his criticism, but he warned his colleagues that the assembly should form a commission as soon as possible to oversee the activity of the intelligence services in the republic. At present, he said, they are operating without supervision. They are continuing to monitor the units and officers of the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia, and there have been attempts to recruit officers for work in these services. Aksentijevic considers that the law-governed state should resolve these excesses, because the Army has neither the resources nor the competence to do this itself. [passage omitted]

Serbia Urged To End FEC Contacts

LD2203132791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] is the main culprit for the disastrous results in the Serbian economy and further afield. Following this assessment, the Presidium of the Serbian Chamber of Economy at today's session held in Belgrade, urged the Serbian government to adopt its own economic policy measures that would avert negative trends.

The Serbian government must finally and without delay cease to talk with the FEC, Chamber of Economy President Mihailo Milojevic said. He went on to add that the Serbian government must adopt measures that will revive industrial production, increase exports, ensure a rise in food production, and strengthen the basis of the Serbian economy. The republican government must, first of all, ensure in cooperation with businesses, a fresh supply of money. [passage omitted]

Macedonian President on State Presidency Session

LD2203055491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0017 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, March 21 (TANJUG)—The President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, said this evening that today's talks between the Yugoslav Presidency and the presidents of the republics were carried out in a "quite tolerant atmosphere."

Glogorov told television Skopje that the session "cleared up some questions from which depends the calming down of the situation and citizens" in Yugoslavia.

According to him, the session "concluded with satisfaction" that the supreme command staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces "accepted the presidency's decision, taken with a majority vote, not to carry out the measures proposed by the supreme command staff."

The session also decided that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court should review the law which introduced special measures in Kosovo and which was adopted by the Serbian parliament, Gligorov said.

The court's decision will determine the state presidency's actions, he said.

Albanian Border Guards Wound Five Refugees

LD2303113191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Debar, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Albanian border guards this morning opened fire at and wounded five people while a group of Albanian refugees was crossing the Albanian-Yugoslav border near Debar. Despite the gunfire, the group of more than 500 Albanian citizens from the region of Mali Debar crossed over into Yugoslavia.

Four people who were seriously injured did not succeed in crossing the border. One less seriously injured refugee succeeded in crossing the border and is now in a hospital in Debar.

At the Blato border crossing the refugees told TANJUG's reporter that in addition to themselves, a further 400 Albanian citizens will attempt today to enter Yugoslavia at this border crossing, while several hundred others will attempt this further south near the village of Dzepiste.

Last Saturday several hundred Albanian citizens crossed the Yugoslav-Albanian border at Debar without incident.

Nonviolent Border Crossing

LD2403150791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Ohrid, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Albanian citizens of Macedonian origin from the region of Mala Prespa on the Albanian side of Lake Prespa this morning illegally crossed the Albanian- Yugoslav border near Resen in large groups, shouting Macedonia, Macedonia. By noon, about 1,000 refugees had gathered in the village of Stenje on the Yugoslav side of Lake Prespa.

Unlike yesterday near Debar, where, when 1,000 refugees crossed the border, there were incidents, shots fired and people injured on the Albanian side, today near Resen Albanian border guards did not open fire. Today's refugees are otherwise from Mala Prespa, a region consisting of eight pure Macedonian villages on the Albanian side of Lake Prespa. The Yugoslav authorities accepted them and together with the residents of the village of Stenje they distributed food and drink to them.

The first to have talks with them was Ivan Tabakoski, president of the Resen Municipal Assembly. Macedonian Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Andonov arrived from Skopje and addressed them. He expressed the government position that Macedonians in Albania will be given all possible assistance. We believe the current democratization processes in Albania will have a major impact on the opening up of the borders, and that in the future we will meet and cooperate freely, Andonov said.

Representatives of the refugees stated that their aim was to highlight the need for the opening up of the borders and meet their relatives, and that this evening, provided the Albanian border authorities allow them to, they would return in an organized fashion to their homes in Albanian Prespa. They said they had been expecting that today they would meet Macedonians and their relatives who have fled from Albania over the past few weeks, and that they regret that this has not been made possible for them.

Albanian Citizens Return

LD2303202591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Debar, Yugoslavia, March 23 (TANJUG)—Some one thousand citizens of Albania, including refugees who

wished to remain in Yugoslavia, but also those who wanted to spend a day visiting their relatives, were returned on Saturday evening in agreement with the Albanian authorities to Albania.

The Albanian citizens, including members of the Macedonian national minoritiy, entered the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia near the town of Debar, and after the Yugoslav authorities banned them from staying permanently, or visit relatives in Debar, were returned to Albania sometime after 1800 local time.

On Saturday morning Albanian border guards opened fire on them as they crossed the border to Yugoslavia. Five people sustained serious wounds, while eyewitnesses who managed to cross to border claimed there were people killed too. One of the wounded was undergoing treatment at the Debar hospital.

Montenegro Presidency President on State Session

LD2303053691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2251 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd March 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Presidency Momir Bulatovic on Friday [22 March] evening said that the session of the Yugoslav State Presidency on Thursday was the outcome of a "sobering up of sorts" and an encourging incentive for the continuation of talks on the country's political future.

Bulatovic informed on Friday evening the deputies of the Montenegrin Parliament about the state presidency session.

He said that a contribution to the continuation of talks was also to be seen in the announcement of the supreme command of the armed forces staff that the army would not interfere in the political negotiations.

Such a stand of the Army was supported by all presidency members and the entire democratic public, said Bulatovic. He, however, warned that all citizens of Yugoslavia should be deeply concerned about another point of the announcement in which the Army warns that "it can not assume responsibility for a further possible illicit arming of citizens and their militarily organizing in any part of the Yugoslav territory."

Bulatovic recalled that the Presidency of Yugoslavia rendered as impossible the implementation of its order to disarm all para-military formations in the country. "Now when some have armed themselves, and could not be disarmed, there is real concern that arming could continue, and it is known how the negotiation could end then," Bulatovic concluded.

Montenegrin Assembly Approves Bucin Resignation

LD2203224291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2209 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly late this evening approved the resignation of Nenad Bucin from the office of member of the SFRY Presidency, which he tendered on 16 March.

Out of 97 deputies present, 15 of them voted against the resignation. The Assembly expressed understanding for the reasons cited by Bucin for this act.

Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic, will—in accordance with the constitution,—carry out this duty pending the election of the new member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro. At its next session on 2 April, the Assembly will set the election method for the new SFRY Presidency member.

Montenegrin Assembly Rejects Sovereignty Proposal

LD2203211891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2039 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Summary] Titograd, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's session the Montenegrin Assembly rejected a proposal by a deputy of the Alliance and Reformist Forces for the adoption of a declaration on Montenegro's sovereignty. Commenting on the proposal later in the discusion, communist Milutin Ojdanic said the present degree of Montenegro's sovereignty was sufficient and any additional sovereignty could only be harmful.

Sapundziju Reacts to Removal From Presidency

AU2203184291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 91 p 3

[B. Popovic report on "exclusive" statement for BORBA by Riza Sapundziju in Belgrade, date not given: "I Do Not Vote for What I Do Not Support"]

[Text] Belgrade—In a telephone conversation from his hospital room, Riza Sapundziju, who was removed from his post as member of the SFRY Presidency by the Serbian Assembly at its session the day before yesterday, made the following statement to BORBA:

"I wrote a letter to Serbian Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic, which I think was also published in the newspapers. I thought that the Serbian Assembly would react fairly and according to the existing SFRY Constitution, and only on this basis, do I accept the decision. Otherwise I do not accept it."

In response to the question of what he thought about the explanation by a group of deputies from the Socialist Party of Serbia—on the basis of which his removal was adopted—that "for quite a long time already he has been participating in the work of the SFRY Presidency to the detriment of Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija and openly represented separatist stands, Sapundziju said:

"This is all quite the reverse of the truth. I represented Yugoslavia; I am in favor of peace, democracy, and dialogue. I have always sought a solution for Kosovo, as an integral part of the federation. That is to say, within the framework of Yugoslavia. In brief, I think—in fact I

am convinced—that all this is the result of my disagreement with what was expected of me: to vote for what I do not actually support.

Let us mention that Sapundziju has been under examination in the Belgrade Military Medical Academy for about ten days.

Kosovo Federal Chamber Deputies Issue Protest

LD2103100291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—Thirteen delegates to the Federal Chamber from the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo (12 Albanians and one of Turkish nationality) have sent to TANJUG a letter addressed to the democratic public of Yugoslavia, in which they protest against the decision of the Serbian Assembly on the dismissal of Riza Sapundziju and the adoption of the law on the cessation of the work of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo.

"In a series of unconstitutional activities and actions on the part of the Serbian leadership, aimed against Albanians and the autonomy of Kosovo and against the constitutionality sanctioned Yugoslav Federation, the dismissal of Riza Sapundziju and the adoption of the law on the cessation of the work of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo represents the final episode in the destruction of the entire institutional structure of our Federation, and thereby also the destruction of Yugoslavia—and that in the name of its supposed preservation," the message to the public states.

The explanation given for the dismissal of Sapundziju, in the view of these delegates, can only be interpreted as a "democratic" method of liquidating the disobedient, which has long been applied on the part of the Serbian leadership to Albanian cadres—and not only to them. The group of Kosovo delegates consider that this forms part of the "model for democracy of the president of the Republic of Serbia," which was readily accepted by the multiparty Serbian legislature, the message says.

In the view of the signatories of the message, all this is a form of paralyzation of the services of the federation, and the continuation of the destruction of Yugoslavia. This is yet another attempt to exclude some two million Albanians in Kosovo from the negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia, in which they are broadly interested and from which no one may exclude them, the message says.

The group of delegates from Kosovo calls on the democratic public of the country, and particularly Serbia, "to put a stop to these unconstitutional measures and actions aimed against the Albanians and Kosovo," and on the legitimate entities not to recognize these decisions. The Constitutional court of Yugoslavia is also called on to adopt its own decisions as soon as possible on the constitutionality of the law that the Serbian Assembly adopted.

Kosovo Albanians Reject Planned Census

LD2303224691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, March 23 (TANJUG)—Representatives of political and scientific associations of ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia's Kosovo Province again on Saturday announced they did not accept the census, to be [word indistinct] out in Yugoslavia between April 1 and 15 this year.

They assessed that even the additional measures, as offered by the Federal Statistical Office failed to meet the "elementary conditions for an objective and good quality census in Kosovo." In a letter on Saturday to the Federal Statistical Office, representatives of ethnic Albanians set out they wished to discuss the conditions for the census with the federal government and its Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The letter recalls that the ethnic Albanians have earlier already stressed that the implementation of the census was being made conditional on cancelling of the measures the assembly of Serbia imposed in the province. The Serbian parliament last summer suspended the Kosovo parliament and government, and recently relieved Riza Sapundziju as Kosovo representative in the Yugoslav state Presidency as well as dissolved the Presidency of Kosovo.

All these measures of the Serbian authorities have been explained as response to the separatist actions of ethnic Albanians and their leaders.

The Federal Statistical Office has offered that the census be carried out by two people. One would always be an ethnic Albanian, so as to ensure that the citizens, the scientific and political subjects in Kosovo had full confidence in the census.

The office proposed that a copy of the census forms remains at the households because of the possible rechecking and that an authorized group of experts, as determined by the Kosovo academy, be allowed to witness the data processing.